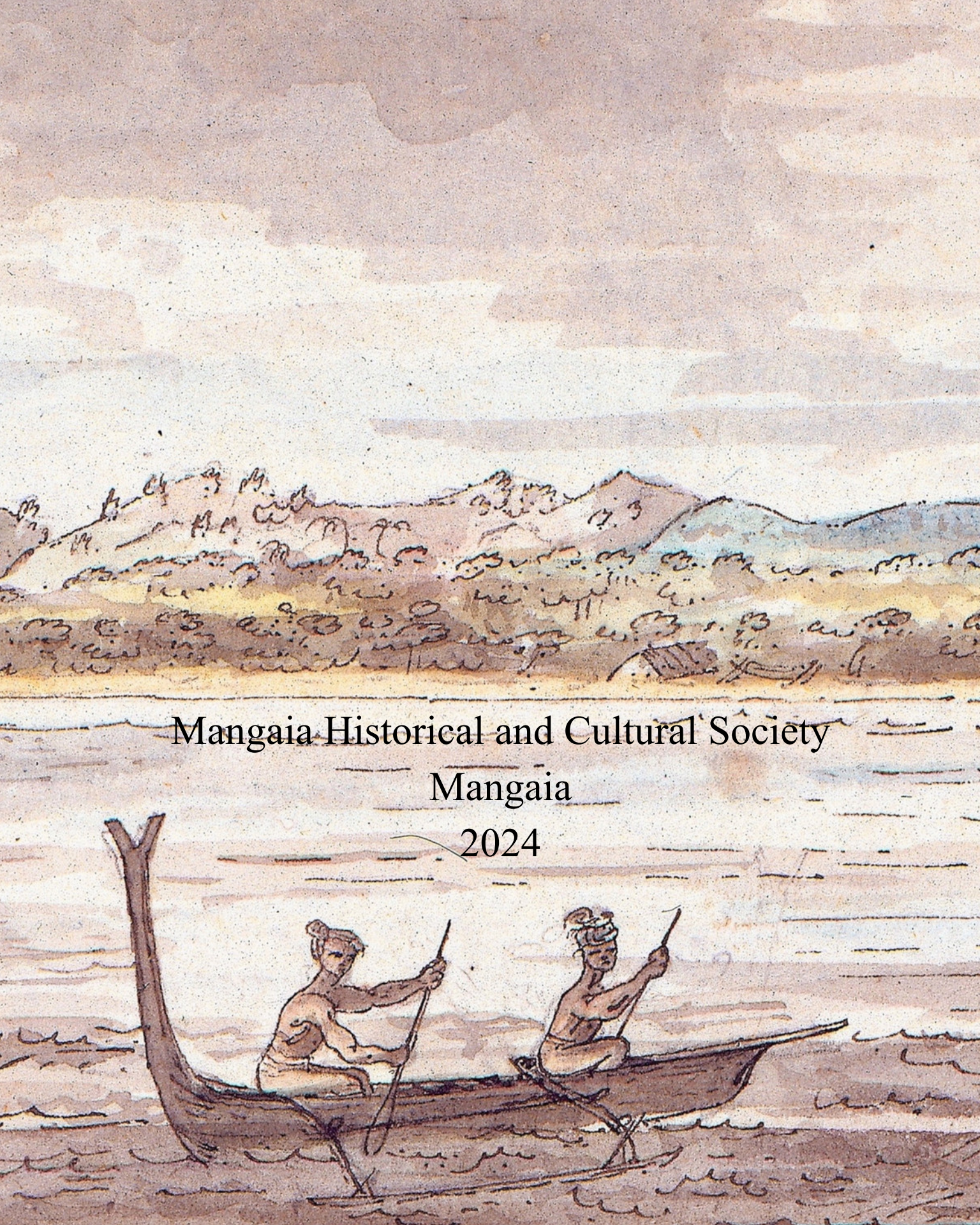
TE AU TĀRERE

The Peace from Afar

Mangaian Historical and Cultural Society



Mangaia Historical and Cultural Society

Mangaia

2024

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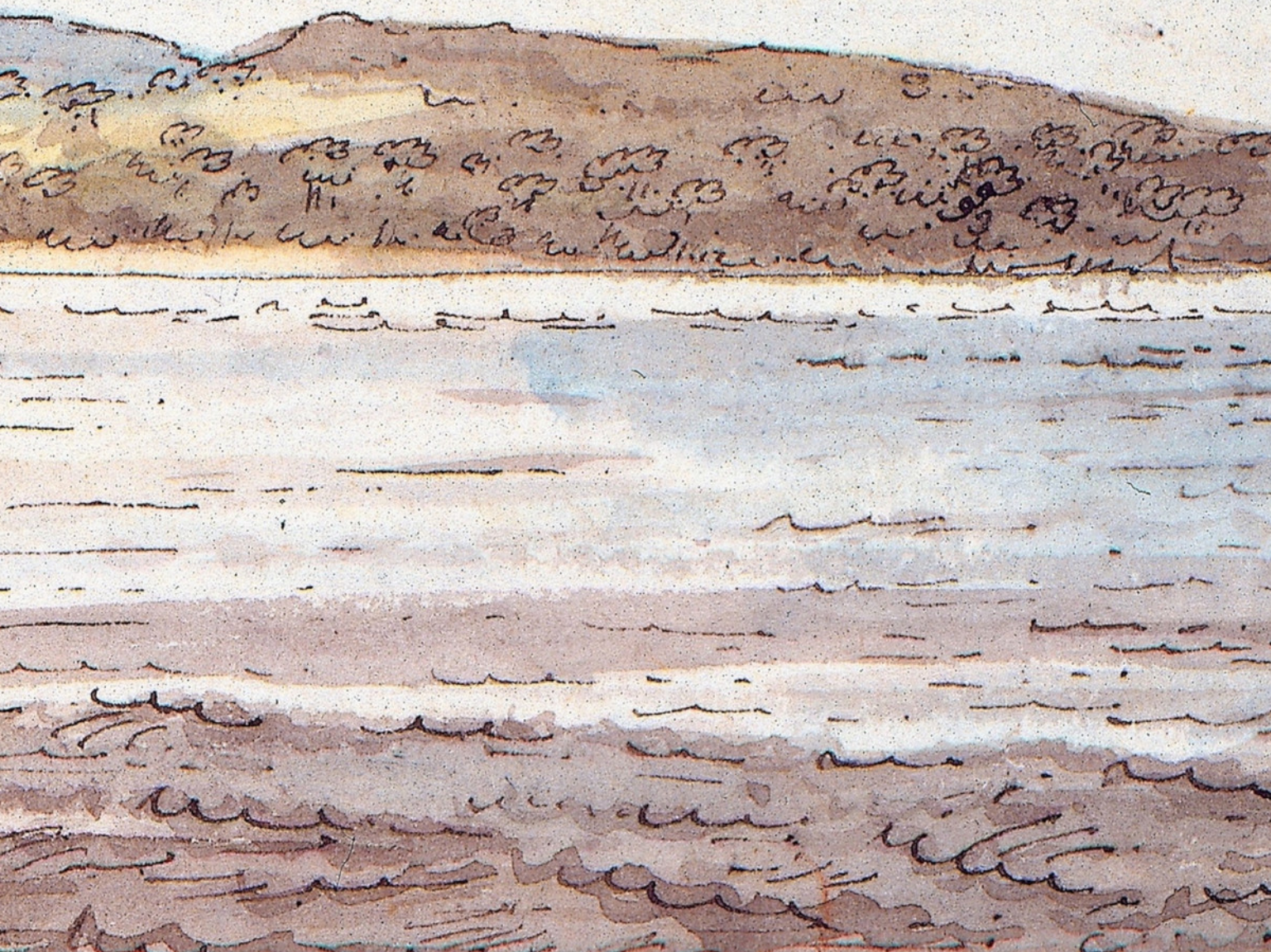

Cover image - "Two men in a canoe off Mangaia, March 1777, Henry Roberts Log"
(State Library of New South Wales.)

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Foreword

E rima aro'a teia tei tu'i 'ia e te putuputu'anga - "Kimikimi Korero e te Peu ta' ito o Mangaia" - Mangaia Historical and Cultural Society ei akama'ara i te 200 mataiti i te tae'anga mai o te Evangeria i to tatou 'enua.

This book has been written by the Mangaian Historical and Cultural Society as our contribution to the celebrations of 200 years of Christianity on Mangaia.

The title ‘Te Au Tārere’ is taken from an old saying indicating that permanent peace, absent from Mangaia for several centuries, was introduced in 1824 from outside the island – thus ‘The Peace from Afar.’ According to our ancestors, this permanent peace was the main dividend of the new religion and justified the sacrifice of ancient customs and beliefs to achieve.

The focus of our book is on the early years of the mission, but we also examine the history of the three village churches up to the early twentieth century. An effort has been made to list all the orometua who ministered at each church and those who served as missionaries overseas. Ruatoka, Tungane and Maki are highlighted among the latter, and Mamae among the former. (Dr. Michael Reilly has kindly permitted us to reproduce his essay on the life and work of Mamae). The list of orometua remains incomplete, most notably the names of many of the wives whose contribution was enormous but has been historically overlooked. Further research is needed to correct this.

Our book draws on both written and oral records but we make no claim to providing anything approaching a definitive historical account. Instead, our hope is that others will be stimulated by our small effort to undertake their own research into this transformative period of Mangaian history.

Tangatakerekere Ruato'e (Mama Tako)
Metuamaru Gallagher
Teina Stringer
Taoi Nooroa
Vaiora Teremoana
Moe Tangatakino
Joe Marsters
Rod Dixon
Allan Tuara
Rimamate Rimamate

Chapter 1

The First Missionary Landing, 1823

This account of the arrival of the Gospel to Mangaia begins in 1814. In that year, the refusal of the ariki pa uta, the most important religious officer on Mangaia, to complete the rituals inaugurating Pangemiro as the ua mangaia, created a degree of instability in the religious and political order that contributed to Mangaia's ultimate religious and political transformation.

From 1811 – 1814, Mangaia was under the rule of Makitaka who came to power following an internal dispute within the ruling Ngati Vara. His 'au or reign coincided with a sustained drought and a famine that further contributed to the island's instability. His reign was ended without a battle following the intervention of Vaekura, the pia atua of Tane-i-te-ata and other priests, and the desertion of a number of his allies (Reilly, 2003; 80). Pangemiro, a Ngati Manaune, also known as Revereva, was selected as the new ua mangaia, the Ngati Vara being too divided to dispute this. Despite the absence of a war, the reign of the new ua mangaia was inaugurated by the sacrifice of Te Āta as the fish of Rongo. Numangatini, the grandson of an earlier ariki pa tai Te Ivirau, was appointed by Pangemiro as the new ariki pa tai, with Te Āo as ariki pa uta.

We learn from Mamae that around 1814 –

> E roa akera, ua motu tō Makitaka ia Pangemiro, aore e pūruki. E tangata ua tei tāia 'ei 'akatangi i te pa'u, o Te Āta te ingoa. Ia Pangemiro te mangaia, ua 'oki i Ngāriki, i te vairanga ta'ito o te mangaia i nee. E 7 mataiti i tōna 'au. O Te Ao te ariki. O Numangatini te ariki patai.
>
> *Makitaka's [mangaia] was severed by Pangemiro without a battle.*
> *Te Āta was the name of the person who was slain to sound the drum. The mangaia went to Pangemiro; [it] returned to Ngāriki, the ancient holders of the mangaia a long time before. His reign lasted seven years. Te Āo was the ariki. Numangatini was the ariki pa tai.*

Makitaka's sister lamented how the institutions of state had become playthings in the hands of young men – the young men being Pangemiro, Numangatini and their associates.

Mangaia kiritia
Mangaia raveravea
Raveravea ‘ua ‘ia e teia takinga tamariki
Takinga tangata e-
Takinga i te tamariki

Our translation
Power taken
Power abused
Played around with by young people
A group of men
Replaced by a group of children.

Te Rangi Hiroa’s translation
Power cast away
Power being played with
Played with by a youthful generation
A generation of men is discarded
A generation of children supplants them (Hiroa, 1934; 82).

This feeling that the institutions of power were now in the hands of men too young to manage them – and young men who had not won power in battle - led to Te Āo’s refusal to sound the drum of peace after Te Āta’s sacrifice “on the grounds that Pangemiro was too young to hold the position…” (Hiroa, 1934; 81). This added further to the island’s growing political instability.

Despite this, Pangemiro’s first 'au lasted 7 years during which time the Ngati Vara regrouped to challenge him. Then in 1821 –

Ua motu tō Pangemiro. Ua tāia Kaitamaki e Te Āo. Ua reviri te 'aō i Āriki, ua reviri te Rangatira i Ākaoro, ua pūruki i Ārāeva, nō Ngāti Tāne ta'i vaka, nō Te Ao ta'i vaka, ia Ngāti Tāne te 'au. Kare rā i tangi te pa'u, kāre e ariki 'ei 'akatangi, kāre 'oki i kitea te tangata ia mangaia. Ua riro 'aka'ou 'oki ia Pangemiro o tei karangaia ē, e 'au nō te kerekere: e mangaika te kerekere tei roto i te tai, e kūmakū ua tāna kai. I karanga'i Pangemiro ia Vaipo ē, “Ua makū te kerekere e Pō”. O Pangemiro taua kerekere rā, e rua i tōna mangaia. Ua vaitata i te tangi te pa'u. O Numangatini, e Solomona ngā ariki.

Pangemiro's [mangaia] was severed [when] Kaitamaki was slain by Te Āo. Te Āo [and his forces] gathered at Āriki; the chief [and his men] at Ākaoro. [They] fought at Ārāeva: Ngāti

Tāne [led] one vaka, Te Āo [led] the other vaka. The 'au went to Ngāti Tāne. The drum was not sounded, nor was there an ariki to sound [it], nor was a person recognised as the mangaia. [It] went again to Pangemiro, of whom it was said: "The 'au of the kerekere." The kerekere is a fish in the sea [which] eats kūmakū. [1] *[Upoko Tangaianau suggests kūmakū means 'eat greedily'] Pangemiro said to Vaipo, "The kerekere has been satisfied, O [Vai]pō." Pangemiro was that kerekere. [It] was his second mangaia. The drum was just about to be sounded. Numangatini and Solomona were the ariki.*

Te Āo had married into Ngati Vara and we suspect he was the spiritual leader rather than the leading warrior of the forces arranged against Pangemiro, for in another version Mamae identifies Tukua (Reilly suggests Tuka, a descendent of Raumea) as the leading warrior against Pangemiro. According to Mamae - "41. Na Pangemiro i puruki. Ko Tukua e te Ngati Vara tei 'apai tamaki mai. Kua 'akaue te arutoa 'ei Ara'eva i Keia a tamaki ei. Kua rave rai. Kua re Pangemiro 'e 3 mata'iti" (cited Reilly, 2003; 82).

Whereas in 1814, the ariki pa uta, Te Āo, refused to beat the drum of peace, denying Pangemiro's legitimacy as ua mangaia, in 1821, Te Āo actively challenged Pangemiro's rule at the battle of Araeva rallying Ngati Vara forces against Ngāti Tāne, and, following his defeat, exiling himself at Poutoa.

Pangemiro responded to Te Āo's betrayal at Ara'eva by promoting Numangatini to the position of ariki pa uta and appointing Te Āo's son Rau'ue (later known by the Christian name Solomona) to the junior position of ariki pa tai. (As Mamae notes after the battle - "Numangatini and Solomona were the ariki" / "Numangatini and Rau'ue were the ariki"). [2]

Ara'eva, Keia. I a Te Kerekere te 'au. Koia a Pangemiro. Ko te 'au teia i tae mai ai te pa'i o Wiliamu i te kave i a 'Aavi. 'Oki atu ra a ia kare i ariki 'ia. E roa poto ake ra, 'ua tau 'aka'ou mai te pa'i , e kave ia Davida, e Ti'are. Kua ariki'ia te tara a te Atua. E roa ake ra, 'ua tupu te puruki. No Ngati Tane te vaka i autu. Ua pau to Te Aoiti. Kare i tangi te pa'u. Numangatini e Rau'ue nga ariki." (cited Reilly, 2003; 82)

Ara'eva, Keia. The peace belonged to the kerekere who was Pangemiro. During this reign, Williams' ship arrived bringing Haavi. But it went back without being accepted. Shortly after, the boat returned bringing Davida and Ti'are. They accepted the word of God. Later, another war took place. Ngati Tane were victorious. Te Āo was defeated. The drum was not sounded. Numangatini and Rau'ue were the two ariki.

As well as the growing social and political chaos experienced on the island in the period 1814 – 1823, another factor that may have helped prepare the way for change was a degree of cultural

Mourua, the Mangaian who went aboard Cook's ship in March 1777 (sketch by John Webber)

shock from the increasing frequency of strangers and passing ships.

The first missionary ship arrived in July 1823. But by this time, Mangaians had been become familiar with the appearance of foreign ships off their shores or on their horizon. Mangaia lay directly on the shortest route for the pork trade between Tahiti and the Australian settlement at Port Jackson. Richards estimates that between 1800 and 1823, some 30-odd vessels engaged in the Tahitian pork trade saw Mangaia on the outward and return journeys between Tahiti and Port Jackson "and some at least had early contacts with the people ashore." Contact was, however, limited as the island quickly developed an "intimidating reputation" [3] (Richards, 2014; 22, 38).

On 30 March 1779, the two ships of Cooks Third Expedition – the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* - visited Mangaia but had limited contact with people on shore.

The historian H. E. Maude believes the *Bounty* may have called at Mangaia after the mutiny in 1789. It is not known if any encounter took place (Maude, 1968; 27-8).

John Turnbull visited the island ['Mangee'] on 11 February, 1803 on the ship *Margaret* and reported - "The island is probably well peopled but as night was coming on, we had no communication with the natives. As the night approached but before it was yet dark, observing several canoes employed in fishing, we hove to, in the expectation that they would approach; as further encouragement for them to do so, we showed them a number of lights from the ship, when to our amazement the whole shore was almost instantaneously illuminated, and this with as much regularity as if the intervals between the lights or fires had been carefully measured. No canoes however coming off to us, we made sail to the southward …." (Turnbull, 1805, Vol., II; 174-5).

Captain Thomas Reiby visited 'Manjeea' in May 1808 on board the Sydney schooner the *Mercury* (*Sydney Gazette*, 17 July 1808). About two miles off the island, the *Mercury* was met with a convoy of 50 – 60 single canoes, each occupant armed with a long spear and several short ones. Some of the canoes attempted to pull the ship towards the shore using ropes from the ship's rigging. Others attempted to pull iron nails from the ship's side, Reiby reasoning the Mangaians must have been made aware of the value of iron by Captain Cook's visit. They also insisted on taking possession of the pigs on board. As the canoes had brought nothing but their spears, Reiby and his crew offered to trade for the spears "as they were ingeniously carved." During this attempt at trading one of Mangaians lunged at the seamen David Clarke, attempting to wound him in the stomach. Clarke was injured on the hand and groin as he deflected the spear. A general attack followed, the seamen responding with shot from two muskets, the entire contents of one musket being discharged into Clarke's assailant. At this point the canoes made

for shore where “an immense number [of people] were assembled” and the ship took its departure (*The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Sunday 17 July 1808).

It seems that the Mangaian who was shot was named Tairoa. Tairoa was a contemporary of Koroa who, during the ship’s visit, was attempting to trade an octopus for a knife (Gill, 1894; 324).[4]

Around 1814, still another ship, a whaler, visited the island. According to William Wyatt Gill, this was towards the end of Makitaka’s 'au. This would have been in the living memory of some of Gill’s informants. He continues - “The captain wishing to see something of the island, landed with a companion… They crossed the reef and walked in quiet over part of the ground now occupied by the mission premises. Very unwisely one of them displayed a fine pearl oyster shell. A rush was made by the natives to get hold of this wonderous treasure… The white men, alarmed for their own safety, fired repeatedly, though without effect, upon the retreating natives…” (Gill, 1894; 326)

Mamae in his history of Mangaian battles called Te Ara Mangaia, confirms that during Makitaka’s reign, “A ship landed during that *'au,* the captain's name is not known.”

The increasingly frequent appearance and occasional visit of European ships to Mangaia from at least the time of Cook’s visit in 1779 prepared Mangaians for the arrival on 18 July 1823 of John William’s ship *Endeavour*. As with some previous ships' visits, the resulting encounter ended violently. Mamae writes –

> Tei Poutoa Te Āo te no'oinga i tei reira tuātau. I taua 'au nei, ua tau mai te pa 'ī o Wiliamu i te kave i te tara a te Atua. O Āvi te 'oromedua, kāre rā i 'āriki ia, ua tākinga kino ia, kāre rā i tāia, 'oki aturā i te pa'ī.
>
> *At that time, Te Āo dwelt at Poutoa. During that 'au, Williams's ship landed, bringing the word of God. Āvi [Ha’avi] was the 'orometua. He was not welcomed; he was ill-treated [but] not killed, [and so] returned to the ship.*

Two notable accounts exist of this first missionary attempt at landing on Mangaia. One is from the Reverends Williams and Bourne who were on board the ship *Endeavour* at some distance from the shore. The other account is from one of the Mangaian onlookers, only identified as “a Deacon of the early church”, who gave his account to the Oneroa church congregation 23 years after the events he describes. Many of those in the congregation, including Numangatini ariki, Metuarutoa and Rongoinga, would have witnessed the events described.

Te ‘apa o Pangemiro

On 18 July 1823, the *Endeavour,* Captain John Dibbs, (a schooner purchased by Rev. John Williams in Sydney in January 1822 for the “United Chiefs of the Leeward Islands” [5] and renamed *Te Matamua* appeared off Mangaia. The *Endeavour*’s last port of call had been Aitutaki and on board were the Rev. John Williams and Rev. Robert Bourne, Papeiha from Borabora who had been evangelizing on Aitutaki, “The Young King of Aitutake and his wife [he was 15 years old], the Grandfather [Tamatoa ariki] and his wife….. [and] 6 Rarotonga people who had embraced Christianity.” These latter were the Rarotongans including Tepairu who had been kidnapped and taken to Aitutaki by the ship *Cumberland* in 1814. Finally, on board were a number of evangelists intended for various other Cook Islands including Paumoana, Mataitai, Vahineino, Fanauara from Raiatea, and Taua’a and his wife and Ha’avi and his wife from Taha’a.

William’s plan was to settle Taua’a and Haavi and their wives on Mangaia and to take some Mangaians with him to the Rev. Robert Bourne's mission station at Taha’a to observe the impacts on Christianization on the people there. They arrived off Mangaia at daylight having seen “the lights they use in fishing” on the previous night.

The attempt to land the two evangelists and their wives and children ended in disarray with both the men and women attacked in what has been called “te ‘apa o Pangemiro” – the wrong-doing of Pangemiro. [6]

The view from the ship

The following Journal account of the attempted landing was written on the same day or a few days after the events described, by Rev. John Williams and his fellow missionary Rev. Robert Bourne. The spelling and punctuation are as in the original manuscript.

> At length we espied a number of natives on a sandy part of the beach waving cloth for us to come on shore which as no Canoe came off to us we determined to do. The Boat was lowered down Papeiha the teacher we had brought with us from Aitutake and Haavi a teacher from Tahaa intended for that island were sent with instructions to keep out at sea and converse with the natives having the reef between them. They were to state our object in visiting them to propose that two teachers should be brought on shore and reside with them to instruct them in the word of the true God and to endeavour to get the Chief and his wife on board that we might try and persuade them to go with us to Tahaa to inform them what we had done at Aitutake &c.

Rev. John Williams, portrait by Daniel Pasmore in 1838, the year before Williams' death (Greenwich Museum, London)

The Captain not liking to trust the boat determined to go with them. A short time after the boat left we saw two Canoes paddling off towards us very slowly. We could not induce them to come near us by any means. The boat returned without being able to get anyone to come off the Captain steered towards one of the Canoes as soon as the boat got close he paddled off with all his might. At length by inticing him with knives they got up with his Canoe and rowed towards the vessel towing his Canoe along with them when they came along side we used every means in our power to get one of the Men on board. We shewed them the Aitutake Cheifs and the Rarotongan people we had on board. They exhorted them not to fear telling them that this was a ship of God and we should not hurt them. After much persuasion one man came up on the ship but was greatly agitated and trembled much, the other man as soon as his Canoe was loosened from the boat paddled off with great joy and took care not to come again within reach looking very significantly at the vessel, her stern, the height of her masts &c. he said Indeed yours is a land of fine Canoes. We desired him to go on shore and tell his friends who we were and what was our object. The language of this people being similar to that of Rarotonga and Aitutake we did not find it very difficult to converse with him. We asked him first the name of the Island he told us Kaia [Keia]– we asked him how many Cheifs there were he replied Three whose names are Kaiau [7], Maonganui [Maunganui [8]] – Nui Maanga a tini [Numangatini]– we asked him how many gods they worshipped he replied they had two principal ones – Tane and Rongo – there were also two great Maraes We asked him if they destroyed their infants he said No We asked him if they offered human sacrifices. We understood him that they offered them after they were dead but did not kill them for that purpose. We asked him if it would be safe for the teachers to go on shore. He replied that they were a people who did not kill men and they would be safe. We asked him if they were at war with each other. He replied No. We enquired of him the nature of their food. He told us that they had Cocoa Nutts – Taro – Bread fruit- Plantains - Banannas – Yams and Sugar Cane. The Sugar Cane appeared amazingly fine – he enquired very particularly the vessels name saying that this was the second vessel they had ever seen Captn Cooks was the first. They have neither pigs – fowls, Cats or dogs. Having by this time arrived at the landing place we proposed his going on shore with the Teachers he with trembling steps got into his Canoe and told the teachers to wait till he had bailed it out instead of which he let go the rope and rowed off as hard as he possibly could. We wished him to stay on board and go with us but he would not consent.

We determined to send the boat again on shore with the Teachers and Papeiha, to see the Chief and have some conversation with him – there being no entrance or harbor & the Natives being afraid to come near the Boat with their Canoes there was no alternative but jumping overboard and swimming through the Surf which Papeiha did. The King received him very kindly Papeiha told him our work that he should come on board but he would not consent. He told him that there were two teachers with their wives on board who would come

and reside on shore with him to teach him and his people the word of the true God of which he expressed his approbation They returned to the vessel and informed us that the people appeared very quiet that the Chief had expressed his wish for the teachers to come on shore & that there was no War. The teachers prepared immediately to go on Shore

The Canoe we purchased on Aitutake we found very useful. There being no landing place they were obliged to go through the Surf over the reef they put their bed steads and other property into the boat and started again for the Shore. The people collected down towards the part of the reef over which they went in reaching the Shore – everyone with his spear. Papeiha desired them to take them all away or they would not land upon which they bound them all together and carried them on shore and left them The Canoe then landed having among other things two pigs. The Natives dragged the Canoe and all that was in it into the bush – the Pigs they wrapped up very carefully with the best of their cloth and carried them with equal care to the house of the Chief. The Oil that the teachers were taking on shore (perhaps the first the Natives ever saw) they thought valuable indeed as it made their bodies shine very much. They poured it by the bamboo full on each other's heads. After much difficulty the Canoe was got off again [with] Haavi and his wife and the wife and children of Tauaa the other teacher who was on board waiting the return of the boat to go with the remainder of their little property.

As soon as the Canoe landed with Haavi and his wife and the wife and children of Tauaa there was a general seizure of all that they had a box of Bonnets intended for the Chief's wives they dragged into the sea and broke to pieces everyone taking what he could get. Their bed steads they unloosed everyone took his part and made off their calabashes and Cocoa nutt cups shared the same fate Haavi had a saw which three men siezed from him they broke it in three pieces each man taking a piece Their box of clothes and indeed every article they had was seized from them not excepting the [clothes] they had on them Papeiha had a fringed mat round him. They cut off the fringe for ear ornaments. Haavi had a shirt on the tail of which they tore off in strips like ribbons to ornament their heads and ears with. The Womens bonnets and the Mens hats were torn off their heads but what completed the whole catastrophe was the most vile conduct towards the wives of the Teachers. As soon as they landed they seized them while some were seizing the property [9] others were ill using the Women they dragged them through the Water. Pulled them about in the most indecent manner in order to gratify their vile passions, they seized them by their throats threw them down on the ground – endeavoured to tare off their clothes – used all the rough and indecent means they could in order to accomplish their wicked purposes. The Husband could render no assistance as he had a child or two of his colleagues to take care of besides which four stout men were holding him down. The poor Womens condition was indeed distressing in the extreme. Their only protection was the Chief [probably Numangatini] [10] who sat between

them held their clothes & preserved them from the insults of the people as much as he was able, his authority over the people not being great he was not able to do much for them for some of the ruffians were holding them down while others were holding their legs – and others endeavouring to tare off their clothes but they having European clothing on it was a great means of preserving them. The Chief at length succeeded in rescuing them then several stout men came & seized one of the women [the wife of] Haavi and were carrying her away into the bush when the Chief again rescued her from their licentious grasp.

As soon as he had obtained quietness he asked them what they had come for and what was their business – they told him they like himself and people were once ignorant of the true God and his son Jesus Christ that their only object was to instruct him and his people in the word and worship of the true God – he replied saying that he would be glad to receive them but in his land "All heads are equal" that the people would not listen to him – his influence and authority were not sufficient to afford them protection he therefore begged them not to be obstinate in remaining – by this time the Boat with Tauaa and the remainder of the property [reached the reef] but they all [determined] with one accord not to remain but to return on board immediately as the Chastity of the women as well as the lives of the Men would be sacrificed to the Brutality of lust. The King parted with them weeping. They returned on board with their dismal tales. The women with very little left on them. Haavi with the tail of his shirt hanging in ribbons and all of them dripping wet having been dragged into the sea they had indeed suffered the loss of all things in endeavouring to introduce the Gospel into the fertile Island of Kaia. They all unite in saying that if the property had been the only [consideration] they would gladly have remained without an article belonging to them but when their wives were being forced from them they thought there was no probability of success therefore returned of which we decidedly approved. However we will renew the attack we see wherein this has failed. Two single men with nothing belonging to them except the Books they take will we trust clear away all the rubbish that at present obstructs the introduction of the Gospel in that beautiful Island. The people are a fine race of people, the finest without exception that we have seen in the South Seas – They are very white and very clean.

The Island is a fine large fertile Island. The climate moderately cold. There being no Anchorage for Ship not any safe landing place is a very great disadvantage.

Their Canoes are small but very neat, they display great ingenuity in their cloth two or three pieces of which we procured. It surpasses all we have seen in respect to neatness and taste with which the patterns are formed. Their language is similar to New Zealand having with that of Aitutake and Rarotonga the hard consonants and Nasal sounds. In the evening we bore away for Atiu…

PAPEIHA
(Rarotonga)

The view from the beach

Here is another version of the same events from the "Speech of a Deacon of the Native Church, Oneroa, Mangaia, 1 January 1846" transcribed and translated by Rev. George Gill. The name of the Deacon is not given, nor is the original Mangaian language version. [11]

> This my speech shall make known the… state of Mangaia when the word of God was brought to this land by Williamu.
>
> When he first came to Mangaia he brought a Native Teachers, Papehia. We were then ignorant of the word of God and knew not its name, nor had we any desire for it when Papehia and Williamu first came to our land. We saw the ship and greatly wondered. All the people shouted and said that it was a large canoe. We had not seen a ship until we saw that of Captain Cook and the next we saw was this which brought Williamu. When we saw it we enquired of one another what is this? What is this? Where is there a canoe so large? All of our land came to see the vessel, the men, the women and the children, and, as they came eagerly enquired, "Where is the large canoe?" We who could see it pointed it out to them but it was a great way from land upon the sea. When the vessel came near, we saw a boat put from the ship upon the sea and then it was rowed near to us. We went upon the reef and then we saw a man of our own colour jump from the boat and swim to shore. Papehia was his name and he was a native teacher. One of our number seized him. This is his name, Ruaporo. He is dead now. He it was who seized Papehia and put some cord around his neck to strangle him but he could not accomplish it. And then he got some cloth and put that around his neck to kill him but Papehia put his hand between his neck and the cloth and was not killed.
>
> We all hesitated as to what we should do with this man Papehia; some said "Let us murder him?" others said "Do not let us kill him at once! Let us seek a sure means by which he may die." And then while some of us seized him and held him fast, others stole his property, his axe and his basket. We were not content that he should live, our spears and clubs were near us, and we had just resolved to spear him when he escaped to the sea and swam to the boat and returned to the vessel.
>
> After this one of our party, who was very bold, went in his canoe toward the vessel and we thought would be killed there, but after some time he came back and with him another boat, bringing two native teachers with their wives and property. He had promised to preserve them and shield them from harm. The boat came near the reef and we all hurriedly and wildly seized their property to steal it and their wives to abuse them. Their cloth, their oil, their axes and saws we stole. We broke the saw in three pieces and put them around our necks and hung

them on our ears as ornaments. Their wives we took to the bushes and the woods. There was no order observed. We were wild in out heathenism and knew not what we did. But we were very much astonished at the books which we found among their property. The letters made us wonder; the arrangement of each shape upon the paper was a great wonder to us and we said that the books were the gods of the strangers. We were afraid when we heard the noise of a cannon from the vessel, and we sent these people back to the boats but we kept the property. Yes, all they brought we kept for ourselves and one of our chiefs put the cloth upon the pig and offered him to the gods in the marae and some of us worshipped the pigs which they had brought. We thought they were gods.

The ships left our land and we returned from the seaside to our dwellings taking with us the property we had stolen, wondering at this and that and rejoicing with our heathenish joy that we had obtained them, and then we danced and sang with delight.

But our joy did not long continue. Sickness and death came to our land and men and women died in great numbers day by day. 20 and 30 and sometimes 40 died in one day. So fell the aged and the young. Vain was the knowledge and vain was the joy of heathenism…

…At this season of sickness and death we were seized with great fear and the chiefs and people asked one of another what it was? And what should be done? [indecipherable] and [indecipherable] felt that the god of the strangers had sent this sickness upon us because we had so ill-treated those who had come to our land. The sickness continued and fever also; we determined to collect all the property we had stolen and put before our gods on the marae; we then dug a pit and threw all the property into it and said in our prayers to the idols that “if the ships should return we would not ill-treat the strangers, but we should receive them and receive their god".

In the midst of that experience [the epidemic] the people realized that what they were going through was a judgement due to the anger of the visitor’s god. But they did not say that when the missionaries came back to the island they would accept their teaching, simply that they would protect them.

The sickness and death left us and not long afterwards the ship returned and all the people assembled together as before, We sent off a canoe to the ship and then a boat approached the reef and we saw two men of our own colour. These were Davida and Tiere. They had no wives. One of the was a very young man. He was Davida. The other was an older man. He was Tiere. We received them as our teachers, and they came to live on shore.

There were amongst us those who desired to kill these men. They expressed their thoughts

and desires [indecipherable] and began to plan schemes to effect to their purpose but then Great God, whom they served, protected them as he does all his servants in all times of danger and death. The evil thoughts of these men who desired to kill were not accomplished and Davida preached to us. Do not forget the first word that he explained to us. It was from 14 Psalm 1.2.3. "The fool hath said in his heart there is not God etc." After teaching and explaining the words of God for some time there were two young men who said they would receive this word. They are living now. They are in our midst today. They were the first to abandon all heathen customs. Meduarutoa is the name of one and Rongoinga is the name of the other. After this many believed and received the Gospel and utterly abandoned all their evil ways which formerly they had been accustomed to do – such as murdering men and children [12], theft, fornication and adultery, the worship of idols and the making sacred of property and food for them. Formerly we didn't allow our wives to eat with us but now we give them liberty to do so and received them differently…

Summary

The period 1814 – 1823 was a period of political instability on Mangaia resulting from the refusal of the ariki pa uta Te Āo to complete the rituals required to legitimize the rule of Pangemiro and the declaration of peace on the island. This instability was aggravated by Pangemiro's dismissal of Te Āo, his exile to Poutoa, the promotion of Numangatini to the senior office of ariki pa uta, and the appointment of Te Āo's son Rau'ue to the junior position of ariki pa tai.

European history records the visit of 4 or 5 European ship's calls to Mangaia in the 44 years preceding the first missionary vessel *Endeavour*'s arrival. Several of these encounters ended chaotically with violence as was the case with the first missionary ship's arrival. The familiarity of Mangaians with passing ships is suggested when Williams and Bourne in the Journal account above note "a number of natives on a sandy part of the beach waving cloth for us to come on shore", that is waving a flag suggesting a friendly welcome (Williams, 1838; 65).

The lack of a central authority resulting from the failure to legitimize Pangemiro's rule may have been evident in the chaotic response to the missionary arrival. When the missionaries appealed to the person they identified as 'The Chief" on shore "he replied saying that he would be glad to receive them but, in his land, "All heads are equal" that the people would not listen to him – his influence and authority were not sufficient to afford them protection." And later "The King parted with them weeping."

The missionary account identifies three men (Numangatini, Kaiau and Maunganui) who are said

to be ‘chiefs’ of the island or at least ‘chiefs’ of the western side of the island, off which the ship was standing. Assuming the missionaries used the term ‘ariki’ when speaking to their Mangaian informant then the response correctly identifies Numangatini as ariki pa uta at the time. Kaiau was the ariki pa tai preceding Numangatini while Maunganui was at the time a kairanga-nuku in Tamarua though he later claimed to be the son of a ‘king’.

The “Chief” or ‘King’ to whom the missionaries appealed to help stop the violence against them is not identified by name in these accounts. Reilly and Aratangi suggest Numangatini arguing that a warrior would have been more authoritative in stopping the chaos but Numangatini was himself a warrior. [13] The incident has been referred to in Mangaian history as “te ‘apa o Pangemiro” suggesting that the chaos was the fault of the ruling ua mangaia Pangemiro.

Postscript

Many years later, at a General Committee meeting of missionaries in Ngatangiia, Rarotonga in August 1852, William Wyatt Gill noted –

> There were present on that occasion our worthy old King [Numangatini] and Papeiha who thirty years ago fearlessly swam through the surf in order to persuade the savage Mangaians to receive the teachers of the new religion. Near them sat Haavi, who with another was then landed, but who narrowly escaped with his life. When the spear was uplifted to destroy, our old king [Numangatini] thrust it aside and saved one who has since done service for the truth in another island [Mauke].
>
> How marked a change have these men been permitted to see, not only in Mangaia but also in the entire group! The light which had not dawned in the days of their youth, has long been bright. At that time, not a letter existed in their language, they now possess 5,000 copies of the entire word of God. Blocks of wood and shining pebbles were then worshipped by them. There are now numerous and flourishing schools and churches of Christ in their midst. Besides all this, how many have gone forth to other lands to proclaim the power and love of Christ to the perishing heathen. [14]

Footnotes

[1] Kerekere – the salt water spotted brown or black eel
[2] Rau'ue was the first son of the marriage of Teaoiti and Atiati (Akaiti Ponga, *Genealogy Book*, page 29). Wyatt Gill records that Te Āo II died in 1829 "a professed Christian". Reilly (1993; 228 – 9) suggests that – "Numangatini may not have held the two priestly titles as Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa have suggested. Mamae wrote that Numangatini and Rau'ue or Solomona were the *ariki* after the battle of Araeva. Solomona was most likely Rau'ue's later baptismal name. This second *ariki* was probably the *kiko mua* of Te Āoiti. Considering that both Gill and Te Rangi Hiroa ultimately derived their own interpretations from Mamae's list it seems probable that a spiritual ruler [Rau'ue] has been left out of the standard histories. Instead Mamae's information paints a different picture. After Araeva, Numangatini was translated to the higher office of *ariki pa uta,* hence his mention first in the list of spiritual rulers. Rau'ue was appointed as *ariki pa tai.* The belief that Numangatini assumed both titles may have arisen from the subsequent changes wrought by Christianity when the *ariki* offices were transformed into one position as a titular ruler over the district chiefs." Maretu who arrived on Mangaia in 1839 records that "Numangatini came to visit us, accompanied by Rau'ue who was Teaoa [Te Āo]'s eldest son, Numangatini's two wives, and all the relatives." (Maretu, 1983; 112). Rau'ue died in 1844 - "a disease grew at Mangaia last year (1844) of which five church members died and a young chief whose name was 'Solomona' (Letter from Mangaian churches, translated by Maretu in Rev. W. Gill to Directors, 18 April 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket B). Solomona/ Rau'ue, when he died, was old enough to have had his own son, also called Te Āo, and for this son to be in a similar age group as Davida, son of Numangatini. We believe this to be the Te Āo who was kidnapped along with David and three other Mangaians by a Peruvian slave ship in January 1863. A letter from Numangatini ariki to the NZ Governor Grey notes - "The kidnapped Mangaians were "Davida, an ariki, the son of the Ariki Numangatini; Teao, also an ariki, Ruringa and Tangiri, members of the 'ekalesia, and Kurikino ('e tangata 'ua 'ia, ki'ire ona 'e tao'onga)."
[3] See for example Captain Reiby's report in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser,* 17 July 1808.
[4] Mamae says that these events occurred in the reign of Potiki. "Ia Potiki te au ote au'ia i tau mai ai tetai pai,ua taia tetai papaa a Tairoa". Alternatively, "o te pai ia i mate ai tetai papaa i taia e Tairoa oa? Taia oki Tairoa!"
[5] that is, Raiatea, Taha'a, Borabora and Maupiti.
[6] Buck, Field Note, IV, page 13, Buck Archives, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu
[7] Kaiau is presumably the Kaiau who was ariki pa tai before Numangatini. He lived on to 1853.
[8] Maonganui/Maunganui was, according to Reilly, the Paparangi/Ngariki leader related

through his maternal line to Ngati Vara. At the time of the arrival of the Gospel, Reilly says he was a kairanga-nuku in Tamarua. He met Williams in 1833. Williams described him as “the Principal chief.” He was still unconverted in 1833 (Reilly, 2009; 93) and wanted Williams to make him ‘king’ – “assuring me that the supremacy was originally his fathers.” Williams refused, noting “Supremacy in this island is little more than nominal power, being invested in kai tapere (district eaters or heads of districts). The chief authority, I think, was originally held in connexion with a religious office” (Williams, 1837; 67).

[9] The Pacific Historian Harry Maude notes that this was not unusual elsewhere in the Pacific - “What frequently happened was that on landing an attempt was made to strip the stranger of his personal possessions, including his clothes - and if resistance was made, he might well be killed in the process. In fact… it was the possession of valuable property, and not the fact of being a stranger, that exposed the intending resident to danger. On some islands, it is true, the new arrival, as well as his possessions, was treated as salvage at the disposal of the local chief. “Were I to be wrecked on any of the Kingsmill Group of islands”, writes an early visitor, “I should never think of disputing possession of the property cast ashore; it is their sole right, acquired by their custom from all time…” (H. E. Maude, 1964; 266 - 7)

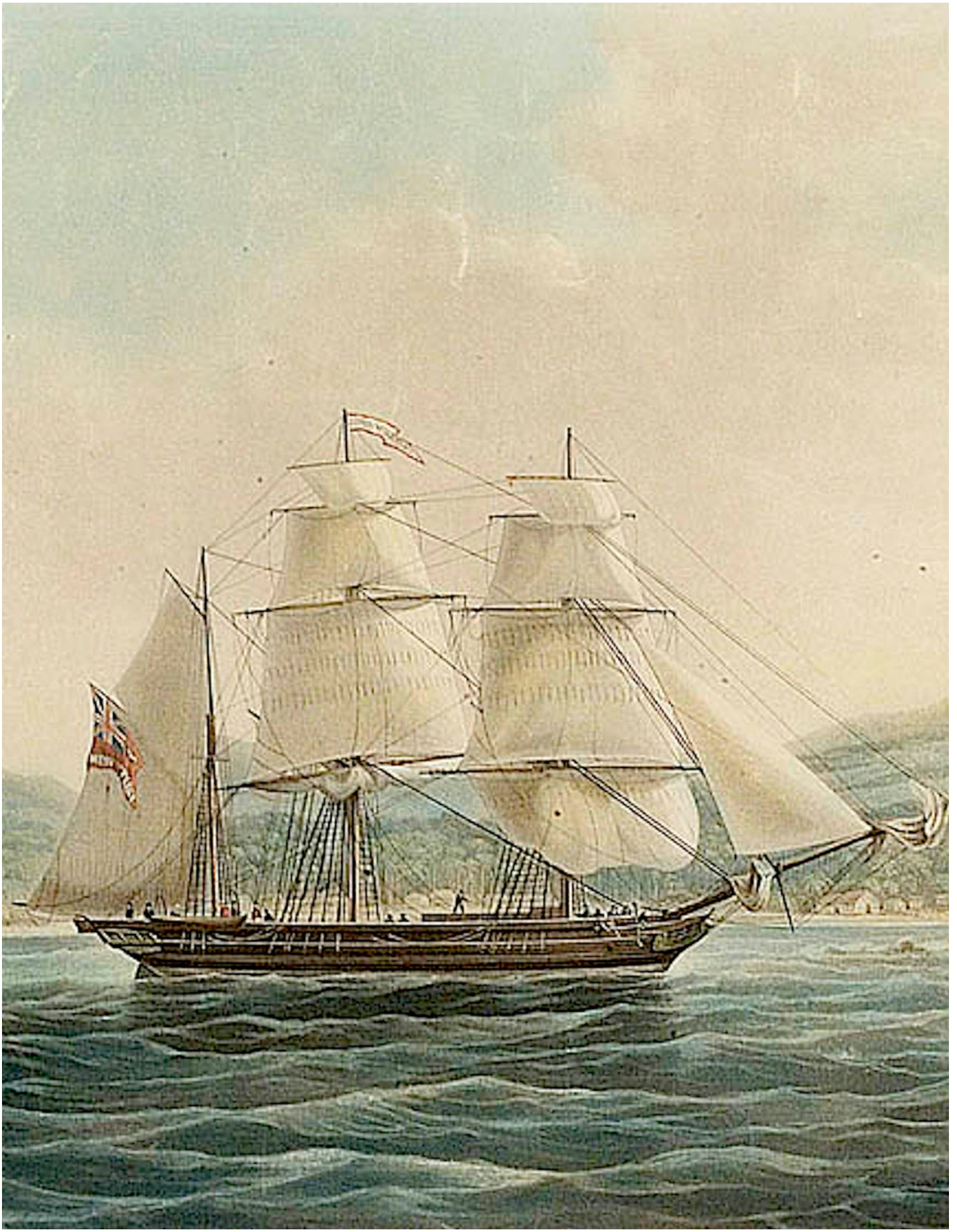
[10] It appears this the “Chief” who attempted to preserve the teachers and their wives was Numangatini. The postscript below notes that Numangatini, Haavi and Papeiha met again in Rarotonga in August 1852 when it was recalled that “When the spear was uplifted to destroy [Haavi], our old king [Numangatini] thrust it aside and saved one who has since done service for the truth in another island.”

[11] Rev. George Gill, 1 January 1846, SOAS, SSL, Box 19 Folder 4, Jacket A

[12] The killing of children - infanticide - in the pe-Christian period is under-researched but mention is made not only by this Mangaian deacon but by the Rev. John Williams who records its presence in Tahiti and other islands.

[13] On Mangaia, ariki were expected to remain neutral in wars but not Numangatini. In 1870, as an old man, he recalled: “When quite a lad I went to the battle of Te Atu Apai [c.1810] carrying a basket of stones to sling at the foe, and later, having attained to manhood, at the battle of Rangiura [1814], I fought with a flat wooden sword. In the subsequent battle of Araeva [1821], for the first time, I wielded the long spear.” *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine (and Annual),* Volumes 33-34 1876; 168-171.In the battle of Araeva, Numangatini fought alongside the ua mangaia Pangemiro to defeat the older and more senior ariki pa uta (‘inland high priest’) known as Te Ao who was allied with Ngati Vara against the Manaune.

[14] Rev. William Wyatt Gill, 19 October 1852, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, Folder 9, Jacket C



Chapter 2

The second missionary landing

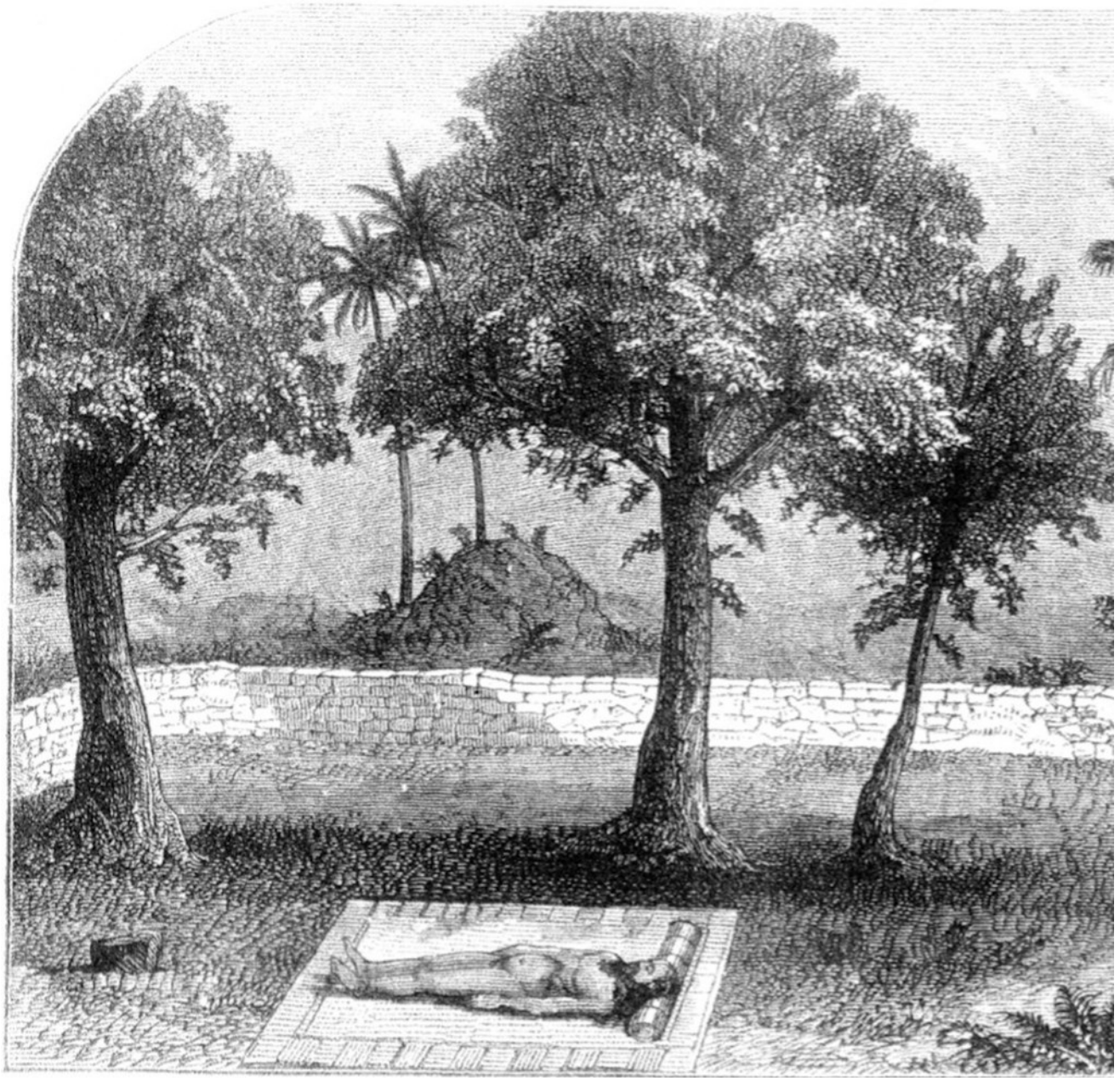
On 15 June, 1824 a schooner named the *Endeavour* (Master, Captain Dacre) [1] carrying the London Missionary Society (LMS) deputation of Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet from Eimeo [Mo'orea] to Sydney, landed the Christian missionaries Davida and Tiere, both single men from Taha'a in the Leeward Islands, on Mangaia. On one account they arrived at the Paremoremo channel. In a second account they arrived at Ava Kari'i Motu – close to the current Avarua harbour. [2]

The arrival of this second missionary ship followed a year of misfortune, sickness and death on Mangaia attributed to the rejection of the word of God but, more probably, a result of an illness carried by the missionaries who came ashore in 1823. Mamae records these event as follows -

> Ua tupu 'iora te mate o te 'enua, e ra 'i tei mate i te maki. Ua kitea 'iora tēta'i 'apinga, tērā taua 'apinga rā, e kutu teatea, i roto rāi i taua mate rā. E roa akera, ua tau 'aka 'ou rāi tēta 'i pa'ī. O Davida e Tiāre ngā 'oromedua, ua 'āriki ia rāua.
>
> O Metuaarutoa e Rongoinga tei mau ana i te tara a te Atua, i Kei'a te no'oinga. E tae i tēta'i tuātau, ua tāki te Āpare i Oneroa i te pae tai.
>
> *Misfortune then grew in the land; many died from sickness. A certain creature was seen, that creature was a white louse; [it] was involved in that calamity. A little later, another ship landed again. Davida and Tiāre were the 'orometua.*
>
> *They were welcomed. Metuaarutoa and Rongoinga took hold of the word of God, dwelling at Kei'a. It came to a certain time, the congregations set up at Oneroa on the sea coast.*

As Davida and Tiere approached the shore in a canoe which they had brought for the purpose, Numangatini and Maunga'ati asked the people to let the men come ashore unmolested. According to Gill (1894; 328) "the schooner had been recognized on the previous evening as God's ship." [3]

However, William Wyatt Gill suggests at least one warrior opposed their landing – "As Davida's feet touched the reef a long spear was thrust at him by a warrior, who exultingly shouted, "Thou shalt never catch sharks," meaning that the new God should never win victories on Mangaia.



“Akaoro, the first resting place of the sacrifice - now a cow-pen.” (Gill, 1876). Wyatt Gill notes "this very spot was many years afterwards presented by the chief of that district to the missionary, my esteemed predecessor [George Gill] as a pen for his cows." (1880; 195). The walls shown above are those of the later cow pen.

Providentially, the present king of the island [Numangatini] – then a young man – was standing close behind the intending murderer, and at the very moment the lunge was being made arrested the weapon" (Gill, 1894; 328).

On landing ashore, Numangatini ushered them onto the marae O Rongo. The two evangelists bathed in Vairorongo, the freshwater pool adjacent to the marae and were given food to eat. This made them tapu under the protection of Numangatini. [4]

The two London Missionary Society representatives on board the ship, Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, described the scene as they saw it from the ship. "On arrival Captain Dacre [Master of the 'Endeavour"] sent a boat with the two devoted men [Davida and Tiere] as near the reef as was practicable [5], when there being no opening, they leaped into the surf and swam across the still water beyond to the beach, taking nothing with them but their slight dresses which they wore and "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," in their hands – namely a copy of the [Tahitian] translated Testament. Contrary to expectation they were kindly received by the natives, a number of whom came off in small canoes, containing a single person in each, bringing fruit and other things to exchange for iron and such European articles… After the lapse of a few hours, Tiere came back to us in a canoe [6] to fetch what little property belonged to himself and his companions, consisting of clothes, tools and books, saying that now they durst trust life and every thing among these poor heathens."

Tyerman and Bennet then departed but "Fifteen months after our departure Mr. Bourne from Tahaa visited this island" and discovered what had happened to the two evangelists -

> Davida and Tiere after our ship had passed out of sight, were confined by command of the king, in the house [marae] of one of the false divinities of Manaia [Mangaia]. Here, knowing the customs that prevail through all the islands of the South Seas, they considered that, being confined in his temple, their persons had become tabued or sacred, and the property of the god to which, if the priest required, they might be at any instant sacrificed. During three days, however, they were kept in perfect peace… The king then suddenly ordered them to be set at liberty, gave them land on which to settle, and not only protected them in following the manual arts which they exercised for the benefit of themselves and the natives, but allowed them free permission to pray and preach as they thought proper. They were informed that, soon after the first teachers and their wives had been robbed, and driven away by ill usage, an epidemic disease had broken out in the island, which swept away nearly one in twelve of the whole population. Ascribing this plague [7] to the vengeance of the God of the strangers, they carried the property which they had taken from them and threw it into the Po, a deep cavern in one of the mountains which was the common sepulchre of their dead; and further determined never again to behave with brutal inhospitality towards friendly visitors. [8]

According to Upoko Tangaianau, former kavana of Veitatei, "Davida and Tiere were taken from Orongo marae to Keia through Anaunga to Ringongota and then to Apakareu and to the marae Mau Tokerau and then to Akaoro later where the first church was built." [9]

Akaoro was the marae of the ariki pa uta, Numangatini. The land given to the missionaries was the land subsequently known as 'Te Akeke Puatoro'. [10] The location was identified as Maraeara in Keia, in early twentieth century Land Court hearings. [11] It was used to graze cattle owned by successive European orometua.

According to Rev William Wyatt Gill, "A reed house was now built for the use of the teachers; and a rude hut for worship and daily teaching. The site [Marae Akaoro] was the enclosure where human sacrifices were first exposed." (Gill, 1894; 330).

The second location for the mission was again in the inland, at Pangemiro's house site [12] at 'Akarangi where the foundation can still be seen.

Papa Tiriamai says that the evangelists had three residences inland at three separate *marae* - initially at Maraeara, then at Akaoro, then Itikau. (Itikau does not appear in other accounts as a location of the early mission). Whichever account is correct, Davida and Tiere's stay in the inland was brief because sometime between July 1824 and the visit of the Rev. Bourne in September 1825, they relocated their residence and that of the Christian converts ("those who had been baptized" - Gill, 1894;73) to a location "near the sea" at Oneroa.

Within several months of the missionary arrival, the warriors Metuarutoa and Rongoinga publicly indicated their conversion by having their hair cut short. [13] George Gill describes Metuarutoa as about 30 years of age at the time of his conversion [14] and describes him as the son of a "a renowned and brave warrior whose valour in former times struck fear and dread into the hearts of people" while "he himself on many occasions stood foremost in the fight and gave promise of equal courage and daring."

> I have often heard him relate how cautiously he stole into the hut in which the teachers were living that he might enquire concerning 'this new thing' which they had brought to these shores. After listening to their simple story of the powerful God unto salvation and the influence of that power in destroying the reign of idolatry in their own country, Metuarutoa earnestly desired to know more fully the means of Salvation for himself. In the simplicity of his earnestness, he asked them how he should begin to understand all they spoke of. It was told him that he should abandon the dress of the Heathen party; leave the customs and the rites practised in the marae; cut his hair and be near them [the evangelists] every day… he immediately prostrated himself on the ground and called to Davida to cut off his hair. When I

(Above) Akaoro, the inland marae of the ariki pa uta and site of the first Christian church on Mangaia; (below) in the foreground, 'Akarangi, the site of the second church. The marae Akaoro is marked by the large teak (tiki) tree in the centre ground. (photos - Allan Tuara, 2024).

Numangatini ariki of Mangaia, around 1872
(photograph thought to be by Charles Edward Goodman)

> tell you that formerly the Heathen of Mangaia prided themselves upon the length and gloss of their hair, and that the hair of this young man was nearly 3 feet long you will not be surprised that the native teachers thus at once tested the sincerity of his profession [of Christianity]. Before he left the hut that day the operation of cutting his hair was completed and he returned to his family and tribe to receive their curses and reproaches for abandoning the faith of his forefathers. But they never alarmed him nor made him to swerve from the purposes of his heart. Our old King told me a few days since that his family at that time were so enraged at his conduct in forsaking the idolatry of his country that they had secretly plotted to kill him but fear shame and impotence restrained them. [15]

Maretu describes Metuarutoa and Kaungaunga as “the rulers of the land” in 1839. More accurately, they may have been senior members of the ruling tribes of Manaune and Ngati Tane (Maretu, 1983; 107).

Despite these high-profile conversions, the Christian community remained small – 136 converts in 1830 against a population of around 3,000. [16] The missionaries’ position remained insecure and would remain so until the leaders of all the major Mangaian ngati converted, bringing their followers into the Christian settlement at Oneroa.

William Wyatt Gill claims that the Ngati Tane pava Parima was the “the first chief who embraced the Gospel and who thereby was universally considered to be the special protector and helper of the “servants of God.” This responsibility was passed as a ‘sacred trust’ to Paunui (a cousin of Parima) on Parima’s death. [17]

The Orama of Numangatini

The arrival of the evangelists had been foreseen by Numangatini in a dream vision or orama, according to the following account, dictated by the ariki Numangatini and recorded by Rev. William Wyatt Gill.

Priests such as Numangatini were regarded as taura atua or pi’a atua who were in direct communication with spiritual forces and able to prophesy through dreams or through the gods speaking directly to them as pi’a.

Te orama Numangatini au te tuatua na te Atua i tae mai ai i Mangaia

> Te moe ua ra aia i roto i tona are i Akaoro kite atura aia iaia uaorai te aere ra aia i uta atu i roto i te are pi'a e are uipaanga no te aronga nunui kare i are ngaika. Tera te mea i tapaia ei i

te are pi'a, ko te are ia e noo ai te au pi'a atua

Tae atura aia ki taua are ra noo iora aia i runga i tetai koatu tarere i te paepae o taua are ra. Kua tuatua maira te aronga nunui kiaia i te tuatua no te enua kare ra aia ki atu i ta ratou tuatua kua muteki ua aia. I reira tetai reo i te kapiki anga mai kiaia E Teariki e! ka kake mai koe i runga kiaaku nei. Kua akara atura i runga i te nu ei, i na, e tangata teatea te tu ua maira mei te papaa te tu. Kare rai au i rongo i te kake ki runga i te nu kiaia ra

Kua kapiki akaou maira ko te turua ia E Teariki e! ka kake mai ki runga kiaku nei. Kua akatika atura au kake atura au ki runga i te nu i taua tangata i kapiki mai iaku ra noo atura maua i tetai manga taime, kua tuatua maira taua tangata ra kiaku ka kokoti taua i to upoko kua karanga atura au kiaia auraka, e upoko tapu taku, kua tuatua maira aia kare e tapu e ruru taua i te upoko e tikai, ko taku ia tuatua koe, Tei te rangi te Atua ko Iehova. Kua akara atu ra au ki runga i te rangi, Ei Ina, kua muramura takiri te rangi mei te parai ura te tu

Kua tuatua maira aia kiaku ko Iehova te Atua ko Iehova te Atua tei te rangi Kua motu iora taku upoko iaia, i reira kua tuatua maira aia kiaku ka rere taua e na mua koe iaku te rere ei miri au. Kua ekoko iora au. Kua karanga maira aia ka rere taua rere atura maua e tau atura i runga i te Utuotangaroa i Okio

Kua tuatua maira aia kiaku e ka akara ana i to mata ki tai kua akara atura au Ei Ina, e teatea anake mei a Orongo te tu, i kirikiri mei runga e raro. Kua tau maira aia kiaku ko toou ia oire, ei reira koe noo ai e te tuatua na te Atua e tuatau uatu

Kua tuku iora aia i tona rima i runga i toku upoko ongi maira i taku rae i te pae katau kua tuatua maira kiaku ka aere taua. Ngaro ke atura aia kiaku ara’keta [?] au i taua moe ra Ei Ina, e orama taua tuatua nei

E tae akera i tetai ra kua orama akaou aia ko te rua teia o tana orama tei Tavaenga aia te moe ra i roto i te are i Aitu Marama kite atura aia i tetai pai tei Atuokoro i tai ra. Kia akara aia e pai rai. Te aere ra aia e atoro i taua pai ra e tae atura aia ki tai i Orongo, kite atura aia i e tokorua tangata no runga mai i te pai kua tau mai i uta i Avarua, kua mou aia i to raua rima e kua arataki atura ia raua i Keia, koia e Metuaiviivi, e Tavare, e Maungaati, e tae atura ratou i Vaitirota kare i tae tika i Keia, kua ara aia, tapa atura [aua/ana?] nga tangata ra i tana rima. Na Metuaiviivi ma i akatae atu i te taki i Keia kua maiti aia i taua Orama ra, kua karanga atura aia ia Metuauti e moe taku i teianei po. Kua ui maira Metuauti. Eaa taau moe? kua karanga atura au e pai ua tau tei Atuokoro. Tera taku i kite e puke tangata tokorua te takira matou i Keia, koau e Metuaiviivi, e Tavare, e Maungaati.

E ao akera, kua karanga atura au i e tokotoru tamariki e aere ki runga i te maunga e akara e kare e pa'i ia tai i Atuokoro. Te akara ua ra ratou kitai kite atura i te pai tei tai i Atuokoro, kua ee maira ratou e mea ngiti ua kare i mou ta mai. Kua karanga atura aia ia Metuauti. ka aere taua ka akara i taua pai nei ki runga i te maunga. Aere atu ra mana e akara ei Ina, e pa'i rai aere atura maua i Keia e ta ngaei. Kua ui maira te tangata tini tei ea te pai? Kua karanga atura maua tei Atuokoro i tai ra

E aiai iora kua uipa te aronga nunui ia Keia i roto i taua are pia taku i kite i te orama mua ra. Te ra te tuatua na te varua kino na Metuaiviivi i akakite mai iaku e, e aere koe i tai e akara i te pa'i e tae akera i te aengata aere atu ra au ki tai i Orongo. Kia akara au i runga kua tau Davida ki uta i Taingakoro. Te aerera au e te tangata e tiki iaia kua na runga maira matou i te akau te na te moana akera Tiare e uru mai ra tona vaka i Avarua taki atura au ia raua.

Numangatini's prophecy of the arrival of the word of God to Mangaia [18]

Translation Taoi Nooroa

He [Numangatini] was asleep in his house at Akaoro and he saw an image of himself [in his dream]. He saw himself walking inland into the priest house, a meeting house for the people of high rank. The house was not built with limestone. The house was called the priest house because the priests were the only people who lived in it.

When he arrived at that house he sat down on a loose stone beside the building. Then the word from the high-ranking people came. They spoke to him in the language of the island but he did not pay attention, he just kept silent. Then a voice spoke to him – "Oh king. Come up to where I am." Then he looked up at the coconut tree. And there was a white man standing still, looking just like a European, but I refused to climb up to him. Then he called to me for the second time and this time I agreed and climbed up to speak to him. We sat down for a while. Then the man spoke to me.

"We should cut your head [hair]."
I said to him, "No! my head is tapu."
Then he answered, "No, your head is not holy. The truth is we should shake it. This is what I say to you – God is in heaven."

I looked up and the sky had turned red as a red garment.

The he spoke to me saying twice, "Jehova is the God, the God in heaven."

Then my head [hair] was cut. And he said to me "Let's fly. You fly first. I'll come after you." But I was doubtful.

He said, "Let's fly together." We both flew and landed on the Utu o Tangaroa at Okio.[19]

Then he said to me, "Turn your eyes to the sea," which I did. "It was white from Orongo, paved with white coral stones (kirikiri) from one end to the other."

He pointed, "This is your village, and you will preach the word of God now and forever."

He laid his palm on my head and kissed me on the right side of my forehead. He said to me "Come let's go," and he disappeared. I woke up. The words had been a prophecy.

A day later, he [Numangatini] had another vision. This time he was sleeping in Tavaenga in a house on Aitu Marama. He saw a ship on the horizon at Atuokoro. On the way to see the ship he arrived at Orongo. He saw two men on board the ship. They landed on the shore at Avarua. I greeted them and held their hand and led them to Keia. He [Numangatini], Metuaiviivi [20], Tavare [21] and Maungaati [22]. When they reached Vaitirota, some distance from Keia, he woke up and dropped the hand of the two men. The journey to Keia was continued by Metuaiviivi and the others. He awoke from the vision.

He then told Metuauti [23], "I had a vision tonight."

Metuauti asked "What was it about?"

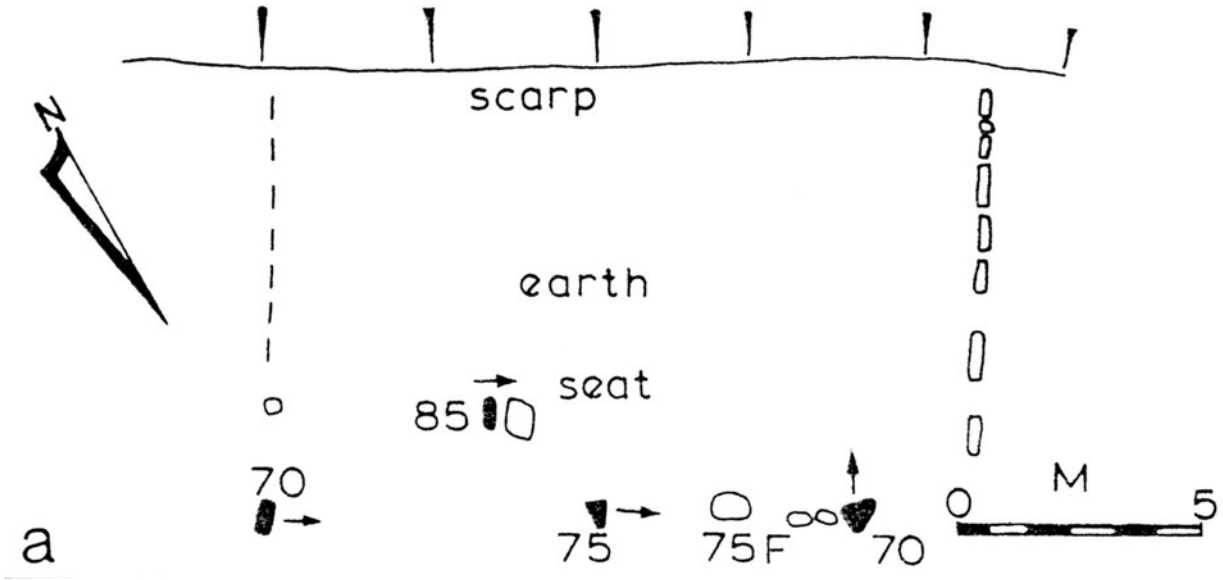
I replied, "A ship has arrived at Atuokoro. What I saw in the vision was that we were leading two men to Keia, myself, Metuaiviivi, Tavare and Maungaati."

At daybreak I asked three children to go up to the hills to see if there is any ship at Atuokoro. They looked out and saw a ship at Atuokoro. They called out that the boat was still far out on the horizon. He [Numangatini] told Metuauti, "Let's go up the hill to look at the ship." We saw the ship. Then we went to Tangaei in Keia to tell what we had seen. The people asked, "Where is the ship?" We answered, "At Atuokoro, a long way out."

As evening fell, the aronga nunui of Keia held a meeting in the priest house which I had seen in my first vision.

This is what the cunning Metuaivivi told me – "Go to the shore and have a look at the ship."

(Above) a seat on the marae at Tukitukimata, Keia (photo - Christian Clerk); (below) In 1978 Bellwood mapped "a line of four uprights (one fallen) and a single upright with a slab seat that stands 2 meters in from the northern edge. On the plan (below), each upright is marked with a small arrow, indicating the direction towards which a sitting person would face." (Bellwood, 1978;159).



> At dawn I went to Orongo on the shore. As I looked to my right, Davida had come ashore at Taingakoro. I and some of the people picked him up, we walked along the reef while Tiare was rowing his canoe and finally landed at Avarua. I then led them away."

The Ngati Tane warrior Arokapiti, who, according to some accounts (Buck, 1934; 82) died at the battle of Araeva 1821, had also forseen the arrival of a new deity. According to Arokapiti's prophecy –

> Te aere maira to Atua na te aka o te rangi mei te kaoka'o rauaika te tu.
>
> *Your god is coming from the root of the sky [horizon] as white as young banana leaves.*

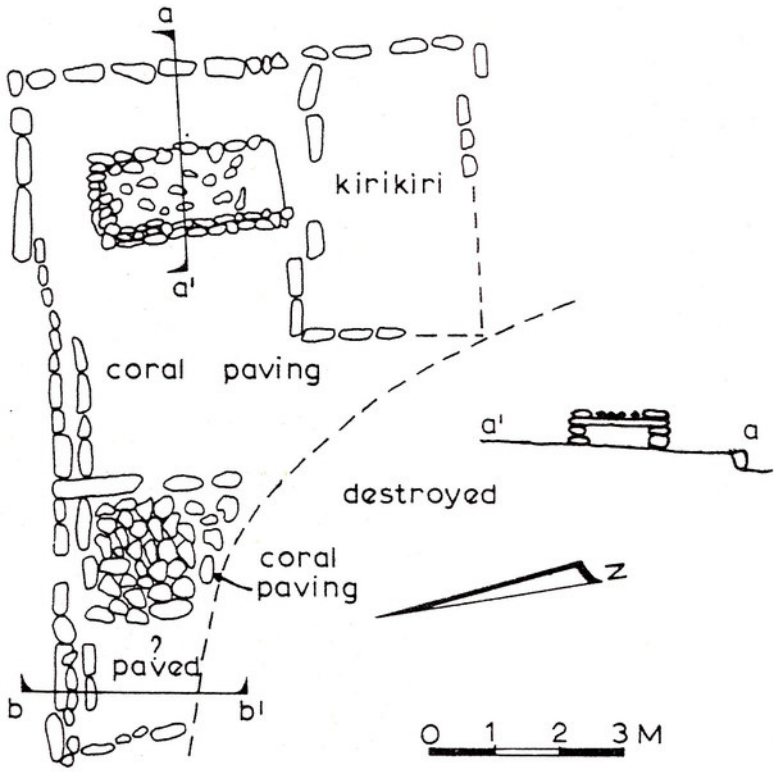
In another version Arokapiti tells his uncle Paa –

> Kua pupu au i te tau atua, e kua momonono i roto i te kaoa mato, kare o'ou atua. Ka kimi koe 'aore. Ka tiaki au i toku […?] e tama 'ou te aka o te rangi.
>
> *I have collected all your idols, hidden them in the holes of the rocks. You have no gods at all. Seek as you may, it will be in vain. As for me I wait for a new king who shall come from the edge of the horizon.* [24]

Footnotes

[1] This is the same ship that called at Mangaia in 1823. In the interim it had been sold by Williams in Sydney on behalf of its owners the "United Chiefs of the Leeward Islands" (Raiatea, Taha'a, Borabora and Maupiti) and acquired a new captain.
[2] Upoko Tangaianau, former kavana of Veitatei
[3] As noted, it was, in fact, the same ship 'Endeavour' that had called at Mangaia in 1823.
[4] This ritual was not unusual. The Pacific historian H. E. Maude notes that in the islands at the time of European contact there was "often justified fear of infectious disease. For example .. on Nanumea in the Ellice Group, a contemporary records that "all visitors are regarded as under tabu until they have been subjected to a process of purification which occupies a whole day". H. E. Maude, 1964, Beachcombers and Castaways, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 73 No. 3, pp. 254 - 293
[5] In *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. ...* Vol.3, 1825, London, p. 302 Tyerman and Bennet write – "they landed in a canoe we had brought for this purpose…"
[6] "which he had borrowed [from the Mangaians] to take on shore some little articles of

(Above) O Rongo today - the remains of Mangaia's national shore marae (photo - Allan Tuara, 2024); (below) Bellwood's site map of the marae O Rongo (Bellwood; 1978; 160).



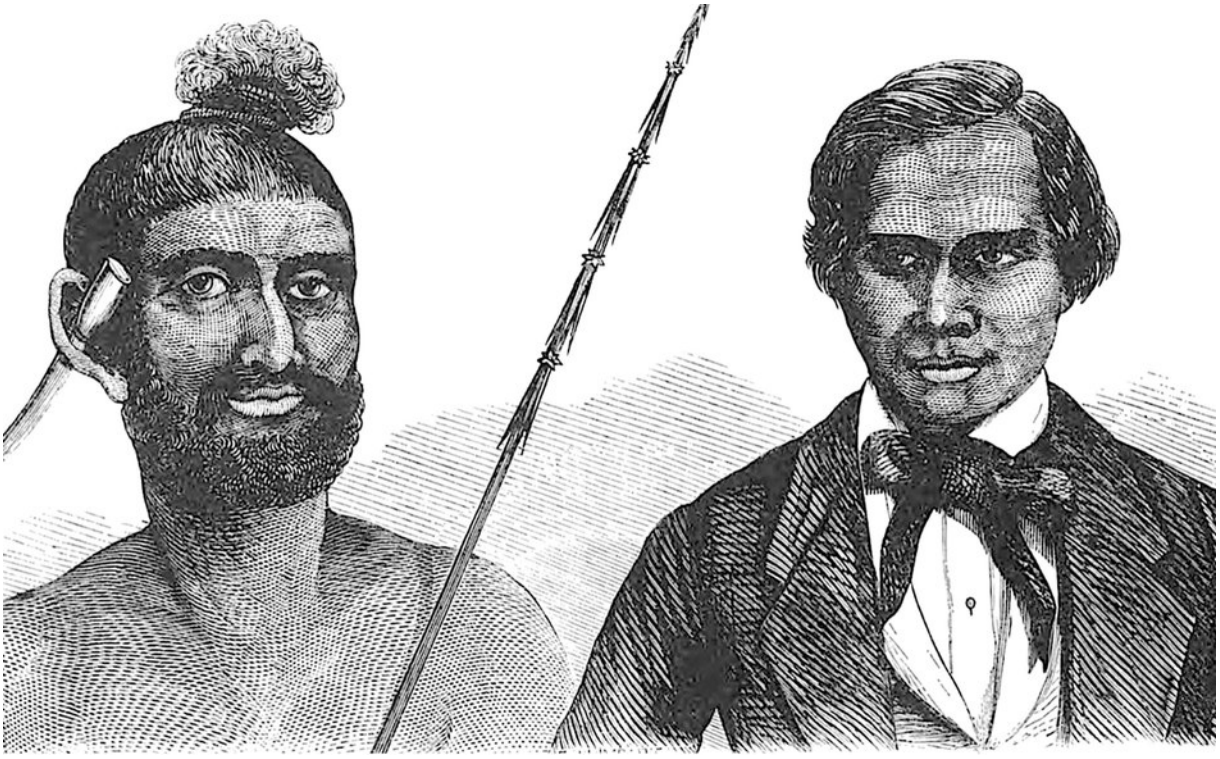
property which he had left [on board]" *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle. ...* Vol. 3, 1825, London, p. 302
[7] William Wyatt Gill claims the disease was dysentery (1894, 327)
[8] Extract *from Journal of Voyages and Travel by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, Esq., Deputed from the London Missionary Society*….. Crocket and Brewster, Boston, (1832; 237 – 239)
[9] Upoko Tangaianu conversation with Rod Dixon, 1991.
[10] D. S. Marshall, Field Notes 2nd Expedition 1953-4; p. 300 in D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus.
[11] Resident Agent, *Mangaia Annual Report, 1906*, Cook Islands Administration Archives, Rarotonga, page 5
[12] Speech by Papa Tiriamai, CICC compound, Oneroa, translated from tape recording by Jim Marurai, 1983
[13] John Williams notes – "The heathen wear very long hair; and, as the Christians cut theirs short, to cut their hair had become a kind of first step in renouncing heathenism; and, when speaking of any person having renounced idolatry… the current expression was, "Such a one has cut his hair" (Williams, 1837; 221 fn).
[14] Metuarutoa died in February 1853 - George Gill estimates his age at death to have been between 60 and 70 years of age. He was a deacon of the church for almost 30 years.
[15] George Gill, South Sea Letters, 10 March 1853, Box 25, Folder 3, Jacket A
[16] Moyle, 1984; 25
[17] William Wyatt Gill, 1894; 71; SSL. 14 January 1867. Box 31 Folder 2 Jacket C. Gill also notes that "Numerous deacons and evangelists have been furnished by this family?" (1894; 71)
[18] "*Orama Numangatini*" in "Rarotonga records : being extracts from the papers of the late Rev. W. Wyatt Gill. LL.D", The Polynesian Society, Auckland.
[19] Utu – the Barringtonia tree (Barringtonia asiatica). Trees were often named for some association with an ancestor or god, e.g. Te Utu o Ngarue on Atiu (Tanga, 1984; 15). Okio is a location in Keia, at the inland base of the makatea. The marae Tukitukimata is nearby.
[20] Metuaiviivi was a Ngati Tane by adoption, one of the brothers of Muraai, pava of Keia, and Atatoa. During the factional fighting within Ngatii Vara, prior to their losing the mangaia at Rangiura, enmity developed between Kaunio and Atatoa. To protect her children, Kie persuaded her family to adopt Mura'ai and his brothers into Ngati Tane. When Kaunio later attacked and killed Atatoa and his father, the children remained safe (Gill, 1894; 296-7).
[21] Tavare was a Manaune, the brother of Raoa father of Kirimaniaia.
[22] Maungaati was a leading Ngati Tane warrior, the brother of Arokapiti and a supporter of Numangatini. According to Daniela Tangitoru in Land Court evidence, 21 May 1909, Maungaati "wanted Christianity to save himself. In the time of the Araeva fight [1821] Tane the god wanted the death of one of his children – Maungaati did not want to die. He wanted to live with his wife. But Arokapiti did not mind death and he joined in the fight and he killed Koroa of the

Ngati Mautara….” Pukerua, in his evidence to the land Court states, “Maungaati was the man who brought Numangatini here and made him an ariki.” Land Court Minute Book 1907-1909, Volume 3, Mauke, Aitutaki, Mangaia, page 366, 368

[23] After the distribution of land following the battle of Araeva, Metuauti became rangatira of the tapere Te Inati in Keia.

[24] Rev. William Wyatt Gill M/S book, SSP 1, cited in Reilly, 1993;175

On the right a pathway from 'Akarangi to the ara kiore
(photo - Allan Tuara, 2024)



(Above) "Natives of Mangaia" - a tutae 'auri and a kai parau.(Gill, 1856; 161); (below) Attacking an idol (Sydney Morning Herald, July 1933)

Chapter 3

The Kai Parau

Before they began their missionary work, the Rev. John Williams issued the Tahitian evangelists with “some advice how to act when you arrive at the land to which God shall lead you.”[1] Williams' instructions are lengthy but are one of the few indicators of how the early evangelists may have approached their task of conversion in the islands.

> Dear Brethren….
>
> As it respects your work – 1. Remember that this work is the work of the Lord Jesus Christ – it is not to prosper by the strength of man. The Holy Spirit must do the work for by him alone it will grow. [2] This is the first word we wish you to remember especially –
>
> You will teach the adults and the children, you will preach to the people, you will Baptize and administer the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper. This includes the work for which you are set apart.
>
> The doctrines you will teach principally are these. The Creation of All things by God. Man’s goodness at that time, his fall, the effects of it upon all mankind, the guilt and punishment incurred. The great compassion of God in providing a sacrifice for us. The death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ as the only source of forgiveness of sin and justification in the sight of God. His death and full accomplishment of all the work given Him to do. The Evil and weakness of the hearts of all men and their utter incapacity to make them good. That the Holy Spirit alone can make good the Heart. The doctrines contained in the catechisms are those that you shall preach and teach. All that you well understand, attempt to explain. Do not let the whole of your discourses be directed against the Evil Spirit and that alone but exalt our Lord Jesus Christ and his Gospel. Tell fully of his great compassion to us and the power of his blood in cleansing the Heart and saving the Soul. This is the subject for your discourses, Jesus, like those of the prophets and Apostles. Do not be afraid of exalting Christ too greatly. He is our friend, he is our way, he is our refuge, he is our food, he is our Mediator, he is our Saviour. Do not regard the Sabbath day only as a day for preaching and exhorting, but at every great meeting, at all their feasts, at all their meetings before the Maraes go into the midst of them and preach the Gospel of Christ. When the Prophets begin their declamations, when the Priests deliver their speeches, do you also speak the good word, propose questions in the presence of them all and they will very soon be confounded. Remember well your

work and whenever there is assemblage do you be present to Speak forth the good Gospel of Jesus Christ. Your hands, your mouths, your bodies, your Souls, give to your work and God will bless your labours.

2nd. With respect to Baptism. If God grants us our desire you will have to Baptize but do not be hasty, let a little time elapse and be diligent in observing. When any persons cast away the worship of Idols establish a meeting similar to our meetings on Friday and then explain fully the origins of Baptism, the object of Baptism and the requirements of Baptism. The conduct required is - 1st not to retain one custom relative to the Worship of the Evil Spirit or in other words complete renunciation of idolatry. 2. Not to retain any evil custom of their Heathenish state such as exchange of wives, games dancing and or heathenish decorations which are used as excitements to Sin or a communication of Evil desires. 3. That the Gospel of Jesus be received cordially and thoroughly. 4. A General conduct agreeing with the Gospel of Jesus.

3. With respect to the Feast of Jesus. Attend yourselves to this – by no means let fall the remembrance of Jesus death. On the first Sabbath of every month remember Jesus death. Take it by turns – one will administer at one feast, the other at another and when the season arrives that some believers wish to join, you receive them but do not be hasty and do not admit any because they are chiefs or possess influence. Do not look at outsiders only – persons you admit must be those whose general conduct is without crooks [inconsistency], whose repentance is sincere and whom you have reason to believe is a sincere believer in the Lord Jesus Christ. Such only you will admit into the Church of Christ.

You will be questioned perhaps on subjects that will occasion perplexity. This perhaps will be one. A man having two wives in his Idolatrous State let him put one away if it is agreeable to the wife to leave, if not, let him retain both. But the putting away [of] one is by far the best which you will promote diligently by persuasion only and not by threatening but in case of the death of one of the wives, he commits sin if he takes a second. Perhaps when laws are established it may be accomplished then you can advise the Chiefs to make a law to that effect and those who have extra wives be the first to put them away, setting an example. Perhaps the difficulty in that case will not be great. A woman having two husbands must put away one. Upon this subject, Mr Threlkeld and I will converse and write more fully to you.

Let not those who embrace the Gospel join promiscuously as formerly but introduce the Marriage ceremony as soon as possible. Do not be in haste to propose laws. You can make known to the Chiefs all that has taken place at our Islands and it is with them to desire and propose them. Everything is good in its Season. Children are not fed with hard food. In all the minor customs that you introduce beware of attaching any idea of sacredness with them for the hearts of Natives turn easily towards that. All these lesser evil customs you will

endeavour to cast down – going in a state of nudity or nearly so and scratching themselves in seasons of grief – tattooing their bodies – eating raw fish – their lewd dances etc but the greater Evils will require your first attack and then the smaller.

In temporal concerns also be diligent – do not be indolent - a Lazy missionary is both an ugly and a useless being. Have good houses yourselves and all the little concerns inside – let them be good also as an example to the people. Teach them all you know, to build houses, and all the carpentering you know, to plaister [plaster], to make bedsteads and seats, to make oil and arrowroot. One of you know well how to boil sugar, teach that also and we will write to England for [sugar] pans. One of you are acquainted with [wood] turning – teach them that also and to cure tobacco. Teach them all these things that they might be diligent in work and be benefited both in body and soul by you.

Your wives also let them teach the women to sew, to make bonnets, mats, Cloth etc that they may appear decent as you appear decent.

Perhaps there will be two parties in the land to which you go and if you both reside with one party, perhaps jealously will grow, it will be best if one party desire one of you and the other party the other, do so, and if after a short period of time you can induce them to unite, it will be well but if they are obstinate in refusing do not insist upon it, but give way to them, and when you have obtained influence propose it again. If not agreeable never mind, erect two settlements but in all larger meetings unite as at May [celebrations], the opening of Chapels etc but beware well of every thing that would cause separation of hearts between the two settlements - every thing that will tend to promote union, you will regard well.

Form a Missionary Society but do not be in haste lest they should say a desire of property has brought you among them. When you form it do not form it in connexion with the Government of the land but like that at Raiatea. Perhaps one of us may visit you before either the Feast of Jesus is established. Should that not be the case and you think the people fit for it, do not delay for us.

If you obtain Idols burn some (but not the best) before their faces that they may see the consuming of them lest they should think in case of being overtaken with sickness or any other Evils that their Gods, who are still in existence, have inflicted it, leave the greatest part and send to Raiatea as an encouragement to us and we will send them to England as a rejoicing to them. Be not in haste to introduce evening meetings but while the sun remains hold all your meetings and if you should introduce them let it be one evening in the week only lest evil should result. The language of Raiatea alone you will speak lest they should not understand the book that we send. This is all I have to say. Take good heed to your own hearts

> we will not cease to pray for you that it may be well with you, that prosperity may attend your labours.

The performance of the evangelists was judged according to these expectations and there is evidence in what follows, that Davida and Tiere sought to faithfully implement them in the first years of the Mangaian mission – at least up to the war of 1828.

* * *

It is not clear what role Pangemiro played in the early years of the mission and whether or not he was one of the early converts. Gill suggests that Pangemiro was still alive in 1823. He writes that – "When the Rev. John Williams in 1823 vainly endeavoured to locate teachers, a grandson of Manaune named Pangemiro was temporal chief for the second time." [3]

And "A month or two before the landing of Davida a sacrifice was sought for the public acknowledgement of Pangemiro's second election to the supreme temporal leadership."[4]

At the same time Gill writes "Pangemiro did not live to embrace Christianity."[5]

Yet, according to Mataora Harry, former kavana of Keia, Pangemiro was alive long enough to lead the evangelists into Keia -

> Ia tae atu te tere Evangeria i roto i te puna Keia, tei aratakiia e Pangemiro, ua poitirere te iti tangata o Pangemiro i te kiteanga. Inara, ua akanoonoo a Pangemiro ma tona au aronga nganhao no tetai kopunga tara. Ua raveia i reira teia kopunga tara i runga i te marae o Tukitukimata. O te marae oki teia e akaotiia ana tetai au angaanga te ka raveia i runga i te enua. Mei teia te tu, me e tamakianga, pekapeka, e te vai atu ra, ka akaotiia te tukuanga tika i runga i teia marae. O te tumu manako no teia kopunga tara, oia oki ka apai ratou i teia Atua i ia akamou ai. Ia oti ta ratou uriurianga manako ua rauka mai ta ratou tika e ka apai ratou i runga i te marae o Akaoro. O teia marae oki, o te marae teia e akaatingaia ana te tangata. Inara, me oki tatou me akamaara i to Numangatini kite i te apai i te Evangeria i roto i teia puna, no te mea, ua kite aia e tei a Pangemiro te ua mangaia.
>
> *When the Christians arrived in the puna Keia, led by Pangemiro, the people of Pangemiro were surprised. Pangemiro, together with the high-ranking people arranged a discussion. They held this discussion on the marae Tukitukimata. This was the marae used to finalise some of the important activities which happened on the island. If there was war, disputes, etc. the final settlement took place on this marae. The main reason for the meeting was to akamou [find a permanent home for] the [new] god. When they finished their discussions, they*

decided that they would take it onto the marae Akaoro. This is the marae where they sacrificed humans. If we consider Numangatini's reason for taking the Gospel into this puna it was because he knew Pangemiro had the ua mangaia...[6]

But it seems Pangemiro's authority was in decline, and was further weakened as events unfolded. A chant speaks of the need to "cast away the reign of Pangemiro" -

This is Papa Tiriamai's version of the chant -

Koatu tai nei e ngara e Maraeara
Uripa na uta i tai pa uta tei-a-nei
Kavea ra i te au o Pangemiro
Na korouni e tungi
E tetai takinga e
Kave ake tai takinga
Are paa e tae. [7]

And this fuller version is from Mamae [8]

Paku te pa'u i Marua
'Ua 'anga 'aere i Mangaia
Na te tama a te atua e
Kavea ra i te 'au 'oki no Pangemiro
Na poro 'uri atu ai e
Kave ta'i takinga e
Ko'atu tanu i Marae'ara
E 'uri pae na ta'i pa'u ta'ito ia ne'e
Kave ake ta'i takinga e

Te Rangi Hiroa's translation -

The drums sound on Marua
The news spreads throughout Mangaia
By the son of god
Take the power of the reign of Pangemiro
And cast it aside.
Take up a new generation
The stone planted at Marae'ara
Represents an old generation from antiquity

Take up a new generation.

Papa Tiriamai adds that -

No reira kua ‘akatau ia te Evangeria i te uri. Na tetai iti-tangata ke pa'u taitaia miro. Na ratou teia apinganei.Ua tanu ia teia i Keia, i roto i te puna Apunavai. Tei reira teia aping te ngai i tanu ia ai i tuatua ai teia aronga nei. Koia oki i te Apunavai. Tei Marae’ara. O Akaoro i uta, Marae’ara, o Itikau i muri mai- ka toru marae e aere pauroa teia no te Evangeria.

Christianity was compared to the uri [young shoots of a plant]. The foreboding war drum [miro = war] belongs to another tribe. This thing was theirs. It was planted in Keia, in the puna Te Apunavai. There this thing was planted… At Marae’ara. Akaoro further inland, Marae’ara then Itikau… three marae’s, all residences of the missionaries.[9]

We do not know the circumstances of Pangemiro’s death but Iviiti Aerepo has recorded the events surrounding his burial. [10]

Ia tae i te tuatau i mate ai a Pangemiro, ua riro e na te tangata katoatoa o runga i te enua i tanu i tona kopapa, no te mea e akonoanga matauia e ratou i te rave me mate ana tetai tangata toa tei mou ana i te ua mangaia. Ka riro e na te iti tangata e tanu iaia. Ua tukuia atu te uku kikau i roto i nga ono o Mangaia i te aaki e e tangata rongonui tetai i mate. E rave ua ana oki ke iti tangata Mangaia i teia angaanga no te au aronga rongonui mei a Pangemiro rai. Ua tamouia atu te au uku kikau i mua i te pa o te au are o te au pava e me kite ana ratou i tei reira, ka kite viviki ratou e eaa tei tupu e eaa te ka rave. I te kiteanga te au pava i te uku kikau, ua aki ratou i teia i to ratou iti tangata i roto i te oire. I te rongoanga te tangata o nga ono o Mangaia, ua aere katoatoa mai ratou i te ngai tanuanga no te koanga i te vaarua e te tanuanga atu iaia.

I te tuatau taito, e raveia ana tetai akonoanga, oia oki o te unaanga i te kopapa o tetai tangata rongonui e ua riro ana aia ei toa e ua mou ana rai oki i te ua mangaia. Ka riro rai teia angaanga e na te kopu tangata rai e rave, no te mea, ka kimiia tona kopapa e te enemi e ka tauna i te a’i.

Ua tupu rai teia i teia toa o Pangemiro. Ia mate aia, ua uipa atu nga rima o Karanga no runga i te tanuanga o teia toa e ua akaoti ratou i ta ratou tika e ka una ratou i te kopapa o Pangemiro.

Ia tae mai te au pava o nga ono no te mateanga o teia toa, ua oti ake ana tona kopapa i te tukuia i roto i te pi’a. Ua ropaia tona pi’a i te tumu nu. Ua ropa oki tona kopu tangata e rua pi’a, no te mea, e akonoanga matau na ratou i te una i te kopapa o tetai toa tei mau ana i te ua mangaia.

Ua apainaia atu te kopapa o Pangemiro i te ngai tanuanga tei karangaia e o Taputu. Tei roto teia ngai nei i te puna Karanga. O te aiteanga o teia ngai, oia oki, “O te ngai vairangaia ai to ratou au ivi.”

Ia oti te kopapa o Pangemiro i te tanu, ua oki atu te au tangata i te kainga. Ia pau te au rau tangata i te oki i to ratou ngutuare, ua tangi te ove i roto i te puna Karanga e ka uipa te au tangata i te ngutuare o Pangemiro tei mate. Ua uipa ratou i tona ngutuare i Tavai-tua, e o to ratou aueanga openga teia i to ratou taeake ia Pangemiro.

Ua rave ratou i te rua o te pi’a i taua po rai e ua apai atu i roto i tetai vaarua ngaro, tei kore rava i kitea ana e tetai tangata e tae ua mai i teia tuatau. Ia oti tona kopapa i te unaia, ua oki mai te rau tangata o te puna Karanga i to ratou kainga e ua moe.

I te turuaipo i taua po ra, ua akarongo te rau tangata o Karanga i te reru-taiki i runga i te maunga i Tararau. O teia reru-taiki e rongoia nei, o te au enemi teia o teia toa tei mate atu. Ua aere mai ratou i te uke i te kopapa o Pangemiro i roto i te pi’a e ka apai atu i tei reira ka tau i te a’i. Are ra ratou i kite e e are tona kopapa i roto i te pi’a.

When Pangemiro died his body was buried by all the people of the island because that was the custom for a warrior who had been holding the ua mangaia…The uku kikau was sent to the six of Mangaia …[and] placed in front of the doors of the houses of all the pava …When the pava saw the uku kikau, they told the people in their villages … they all came together to the burial place to dig the grave to bury him.

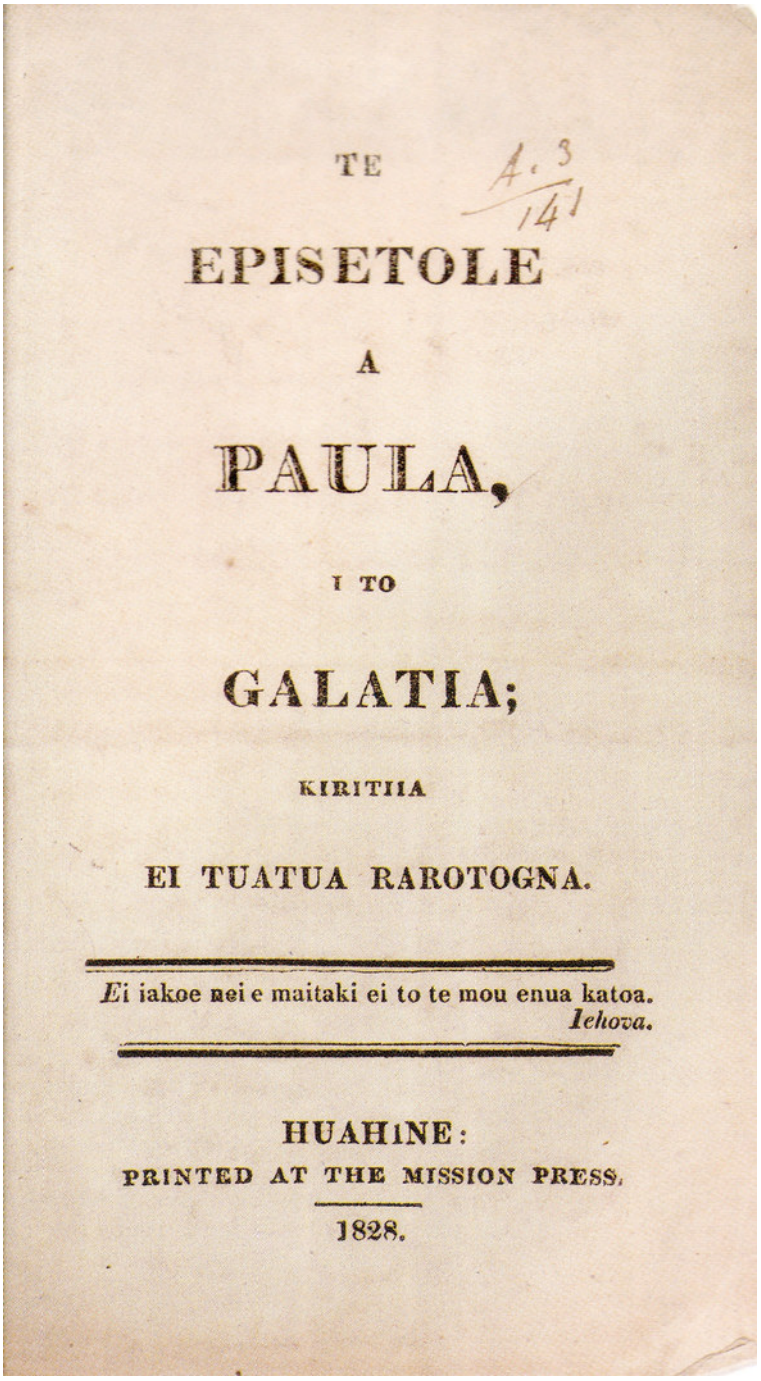
In the past they used to hide the body of someone who was well known, who had been a warrior and held the ua mangaia. The family had to do this to prevent his enemies finding his body and burning it.

This happened in the case of the warrior Pangemiro. When he died the five of Karanga met together to discuss his funeral. They decided to hide Pangemiro’s body.

When the pava of the six arrived for the funeral of the warrior he was already in the coffin. His coffin was made from the trunk of a coconut tree. His family made two coffins…

They took the body of Pangemiro to the burial ground called Taputu. This place is in the puna Karanga. The meaning of the place was “the place to accumulate their bones.”

After burying Pangemiro’s body the people went back home. When all the people had gone back to their houses, the drum was sounded in the puna Karanga to summon the relatives [of



TE

EPISETOLE

A

PAULA,

I TO

GALATIA;

KIRITIIA

EI TUATUA RAROTOGNA.

*E*i iakoe nei e maitaki ei to te mou enua katoa.
Iehova.

HUAHINE:
PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS.
1828.

The first book published in the Rarotongan language - The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, translated by Rev. John Williams and Rev. Charles Pitman, printed by Rev. Charles Barff at the Mission Press, Huahine in 1828. At this early stage of transliteration of the language, some issues such as the representation of the 'ng' sound, as in 'Rarotonga' had not been decided – see above (photo – Bancroft Library)

Pangemiro] for. a meeting at the dead warrior's home. They met at his home at Tavai-tua for their final lamentations for their relation Pangemiro.

The same night they took the second coffin to an unknown cave [in the cliff] which has not been found by anyone to this day…

At midnight, the same night, the people of Karanga heard the reru-taiki (beating of spears) on the mountain at Tararau. The beating of spears which they heard was by the enemies of [Pangemiro]. They came to remove his body from the coffin and to burn it. But they did not know that his body was not in the coffin.

* * *

After locating the church first at Akaoro, then at 'Akarangi, "at length Davida found himself strong enough to form a Christian village near the sea, where a good site could easily be obtained for the erection of a larger church and schoolhouse. This had been originally suggested by Rev. J. Williams. The new village was called 'God's town.' At that period its rocky shore was covered with large ironwood and other trees" (Gill, 1876; 94).

'God's town' became the evangelists' base for preaching the Christian message and teaching converts to read and write. Initially preaching and teaching were in the Raiatean language, following Williams' instructions.

The materials available for teaching were few. According to Tyerman and Bennet –

> Providentially, some copies of portions of the Tahitian Scriptures [stolen from the evangelists on their 1823 visit] had been preserved, which were now restored to the new missionaries, and with those which they had themselves brought hither, became useful school-books. The lessons of these they taught so successfully that already a considerable change for the better had been effected to the manners of the people at large and about a hundred and twenty converts had joined their instructors in Christian fellowship. These were easily distinguishable by their improved personal appearance in dress and demeanour: as well as manifestly exalted in domestic society by learning to construct more comfortable dwellings, to manufacture better cloths, and superior implements of husbandry and fishing. Many of them had also learned to spell and read. [11]

On the other hand, the Rev. Robert Bourne noted in a letter dated 26 January 1825, that "they [the Mangaian converts] cannot understand the Tahitian dialect – their language (especially that of Rarotonga and Mangeea [Mangaia]) approaches very near to the New Zealanders and it will

be necessary to consider whether or not a new translation of the scriptures will not be necessary for them – they spell according to what is printed in the Tahitian Spelling Book but pronounced according to their own - for instance they will spell the word taria (ear) as it is printed but they will pronounce it taringa but they will never learn to read properly if that is persisted in – at Aitutaki they have neither the 'f' or 'l' in their language nor can they pronounce it. I think the number of souls in the Haivey [Hervey or Cook] Islands is sufficiently large to require a version of the Scriptures for their use." [12]

Rev. William Gill [13] agreed, writing "it soon became apparent that the people would make but little progress, either in scriptural or general knowledge, until books were circulated among them in their own language, but before this could be accomplished, it was necessary to compile a correct dictionary and grammar of the language, every word of which had to be picked up, and every line written by the missionaries" (Gill, 1856; 51).

John Williams observing how little progress was actually being made in instructing the Rarotongan converts in reading, "determined immediately on preparing some books in their own language; and with this view I drew up an elementary work, and translated the gospel of John and St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians [1828], which were printed a few months after; and, from the moment the people received books in their own dialect, their progress has been so rapid, that, at the present time, there is a greater number of persons who can read at Rarotonga than at any other of our stations; and I may here add, that I think it a circumstance of very rare occurrence that a religious impression is produced upon the minds of a people, except by addressing them in their mother tongue." [14]

Once a dictionary and grammar of the Rarotongan language had been completed, reading and writing could be taught to children and adults, initially for two hours a day, through the mission schools. Those who submitted themselves for Christian instruction became known as the 'kai parau'. [15]

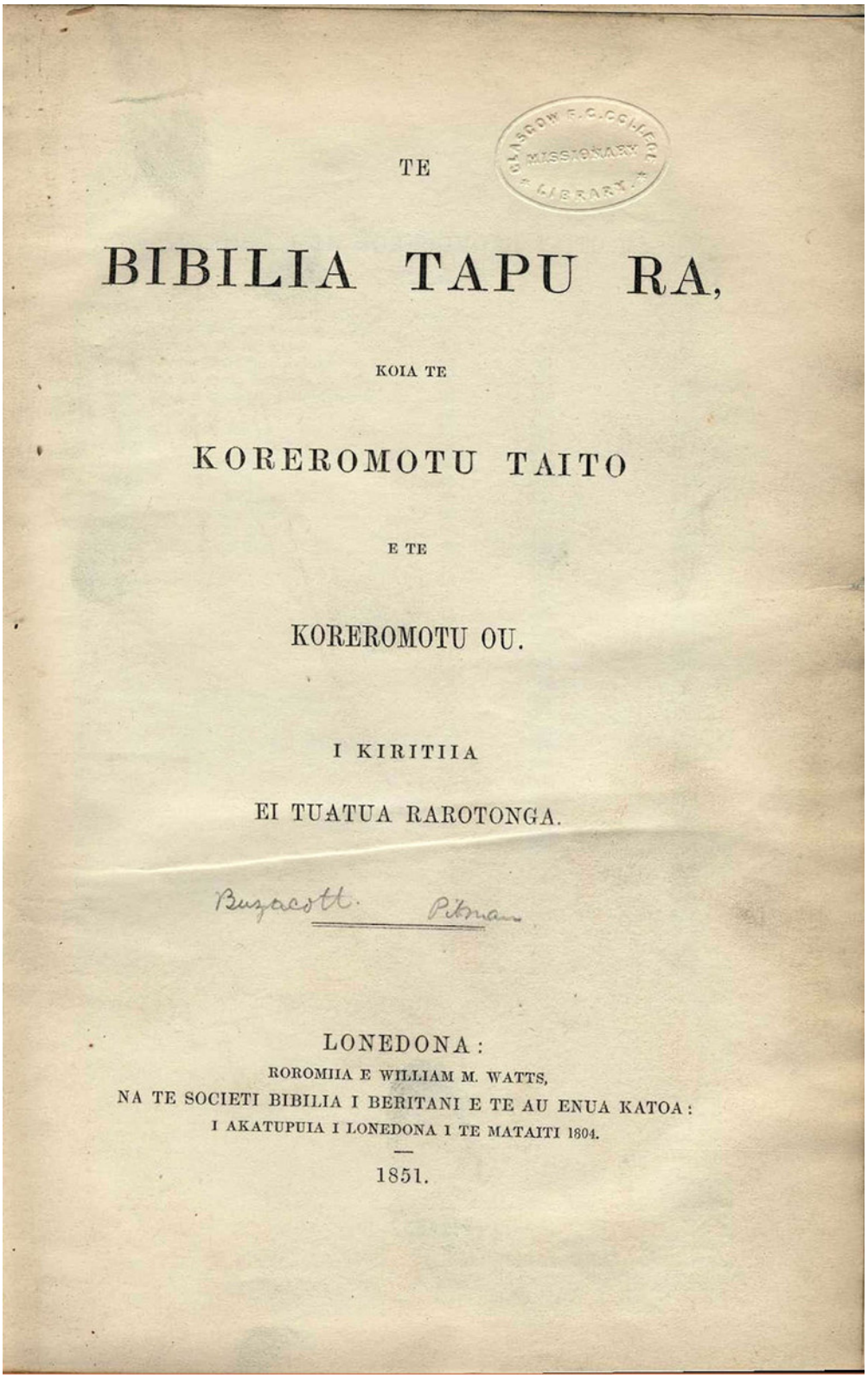
Mangaia and the other southern group islands remained under the Tahitian mission and its Tahitian-speaking evangelists until 1838 when the Hervey [Cook] Islands mission became independent. [16] On 4 March 1839, the Rarotongan orometua Maretu, a pupil of Rev. Charles Pitman, arrived at Mangaia charged by the Rarotongan mission to aribitrate a personal dispute between the Tahitian Evangelists that was dividing Mangaia's Christian community. Among the aggrieved were converts who had bought tracts of the bible in the Rarotongan language and who refused to attend classes in which the Tahitian Bible was taught. According to Rev. William Wyatt Gill, Maretu quickly learned the Mangaian language and preached and taught in it.

> Maretu came amongst them with a strong genial nature, and exclusively used their own

Mangaia builds a ship

The evangelist Vaaruea (or Faaruea) who came to Mangaia with his wife in 1831, was an expert boat builder. In 1839, Rev. John Williams planned to take Vaaruea from Mangaia to Samoa to build a ship, leaving Maretu in his place. But Vaaruea died in June, 1839, leaving a still unfinished boat to Maretu in his will - "my boat is yours but finish it before allowing it to be sailed to Rarotonga" (Maretu, 1983; 127). It is possible that Vaaruea was the master builder behind the ship-building project on Mangaia described below.

> When the first teachers from Tahiti had by God's blessing gained the hearts of the people here to receive the Gospel, they induced them to build a ship with which they might visit the numerous islands that lay around. They accordingly commenced their first vessel, and when she was completed, they succeeded in launching her safely over the reef, and moored her to a large stone by a native made rope, which was fastened to the stone, through a hole in the middle of it. For a time, the ship held on firmly, and for many days they were busily occupied in taking the necessary ballast on board. One day there were eighteen men on board at work when it was discovered they had drifted some distance. The constant chafing of the rope against the sharp coral had cut it. They had no sails to hoist, so were drifted away out of sight of land, and the only provisions they had on the vessel was a little cocoanut water which they had brought with them to drink whilst they were at work. After drifting about upon the ocean for some weeks, the vessel was cast up upon the reef on the island of Manu'a, one of the Navigators. The natives were at that time heathen there, but they treated the castaways kindly.
>
> Four of their number died on the ship and the remainder were in the last extremity. Daniela, a deacon from Mangaia, accompanied us to the North and from him I obtained this little story of the Mangaian missionary ship of which he himself is one of the survivors. [17]



The first edition of the complete Bible in the Rarotongan language, translated by John Williams, Charles Pitman and Aaron Buzacott and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1851.

> dialect, thus at once winning the hearts of all. He applied himself diligently to study their unwritten history and traditions, in order to understand more thoroughly the people amongst whom he was temporarily appointed to labour. What had been but dimly apprehended before, because expressed in a foreign tongue, became clear and attractive in their own. In the Austral Group the original language of the islanders has entirely disappeared. And but for Maretu; the same fate would have befallen the language of Mangaia. [18]

The historian Neil Gunson believes that "one of the greatest achievements of Evangelical missionaries in the South Seas was the standardization of the various island tongues and the creation of a vernacular literature. Whereas Evangelical doctrine was destructive to the old culture, the preservation of the language was a modifying force." [19]

As well as teaching reading and writing and the Scriptures, the evangelists also taught "manual arts" and introduced new animals (as well as reintroducing pigs), new crops (yams, pumpkins, melons etc) and new technologies including the use of iron tools (axes, tomahawks, knives, files, scissors, razors, pots and pans), the burning of coral to create lime as a building material, and the weaving of bonnets and hats as distinctive church wear, etc. [20]

Sometime around 1828, the 13 Mangaian national god figures had been surrendered to Davida. Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) writes – "The carved figures of the gods, stored in the god-house [Te Kai'ara] between the two important marae in Keia [Akaoro and Ara'ata] [21], were collected by order of Numangatini and other leading men and carried in procession to the house of Davida where they were surrendered to him." [22] Gill indicates that the decision to surrender the gods was taken by Numangatini, Parima, Simeona [the son of Pangemiro] and other leading figures. [23] The god figures were later taken by Williams and Platt to Raiatea and, from there, to the London Missionary Society Museum and ultimately, the British Museum. [24] However, Maretu claims that, when he arrived in 1839, Tira and his extended family in Karanga still retained and worshipped the god figures of Rongo, Tane, Teaia [Te Aio], Oreiti [Oroiti] and Motoro which remained on the island. [25]

The chiefs were also convinced to abandon the Mangaian practice of polygamy which was considered contrary to the teachings of the New Testament and, according to Buzacott, "a prolific source of war and bloodshed." [26] According to Te Rangi Hiroa, a "plurality of wives depended on social position, individual desire and extra opportunity through conquest in war." [27]

William Wyatt Gill writes "In the older time it [polygamy] was very common and was not restricted to chiefs. As women were rarely slain in war, superfluous females were divided out amongst the victorious warriors. The famous Arekare of Mangaia had ten wives, Parima six,

others two apiece. In general, if a man of position married the eldest of a slave-family, the younger sisters became his as a matter of course, being only too glad to have a protector. Even amongst those equal rank, a man often had two or three sisters to wife at the same time. Even now, in Christian times, a woman feels herself to be deeply injured if her brother-in-law does not, on the death of his wife, ask her to become mother to his children." [28]

The evangelist Davida's marriage to a Mangaian woman set the example of monogamy [the name of his wife is not recorded]. Parima of Ngati Tane, a strong defender of the new religion, divorced five of his six wives, giving each adequate land to support herself and their children. [29] Those who refused to abandon polygamy were refused baptism. As Hiroa points out, [30] the abolition of polygamy also led to the abolition of the sororate – the practice of a man taking his wife's sister as a wife; and the levirate, the practice of a man adding his deceased brother's wife and children to his household. In some cases, wives left behind their husbands with their other wife or wives to join the Christian community with some husbands following later. [31] When the Rev. George Platt visited Mangaia on 10 March 1837, he found "There are several who have been baptized who wish to keep up heathen customs, especially a plurality of wives." [32] And when Maretu arrived in March 1839, he found that polygamy was still practised, with, for example, Numangatini retaining two wives. [33] (This led to complications later when the Church refused to recognize Numangatini's first born son Teremate as his heir and successor).

For many years, Christian converts remained in a minority on the island and subject to periodic harassment and mockery. On a number of occasions this harassment involved the performance of "native dances" close to the Christian churches during worship.

> A number of the Idolators came out of contempt, to hold one of their native dances near the Place of Worship where those who had made a profession of Christianity were assembled to keep the Sabbath when several of them were suddenly seized with sickness which threatened their lives.
>
> On another occasion some of the Idolators were dancing near the Place of worship when one of the Dancers dropped down Dead on the spot… whether miraculous or not [this] produced a most powerful effect, both on the party which had embraced Christianity and on the heathen population strengthening the former in their attachment to the truth, and inducing many of the heathen to embrace the gospel. [34]

There were repeated threats to take the life of Davida who, as Williams reported, "was compelled to retire into a cave in the mountains to sleep lest he should be murdered in the night." [35] In August 1828, Williams reported from Borabora on "Davida's distressing situation" at Mangaia based on 'reports' received from Mitiaro.

> The principal chief [of Mangaia] still continues hostile to the Gospel. He has killed ten adults, and ten young persons of his own party, who had embraced Christianity, but notwithstanding, new converts are still flocking in. A captain, whose name the natives say is Williamu or Williams, behaved with great kindness to Davida and his adherents. He even went himself, accompanied by his wife, who was on board, to the hostile chief to try to induce him to alter his conduct. The chief stripped part of the cloths off both himself and his wife, to which the captain made no resistance, but, on the contrary, returned to the vessel and sent him presents, with a friendly invitation to behave kindly to Davida, and to embrace the truth. He, moreover, offered to convey the teachers to another island; but the chief and his party who had embraced the Gospel, were so urgent in requesting Davida to stay, and assured him so confidently that, while one of them remained to preserve him, his life should not be taken, that he declined this kind offer… Davida at present goes into a cave in the rocks to sleep at night and comes out to his people in the morning." [36]

It seems likely that these reports date to the period before the battle of Poutoa in February of the same year and that "the principal chief" referred to was Te Āo who had withdrawn to Poutoa after his defeat at the battle of Araeva in 1821.

Testament of a convert [possibly Tereavai of Tamarua], 1843

> One of the oldest men in the [Tamarua] settlement giving an account of his experience said "Listen to me, my brethren, an old man, as I have now taken upon me the Word of Life, I will say a little about my former history. I was born a heathen; my father was a great warrior, and he determined that I should be one too. I remember when I was young, he frequently led me out to see the bodies of the victims he had taken in war and he taught me to eat human flesh. As I grew older, I was always with my father; he taught me the customs connected with idol worship, and he gave me a war-club, and a spear of his own making; and when he knew I had killed one of yonder settlement, he was much rejoiced; a great feast was prepared on the occasion, and afterwards I became wise in all the practices of the priesthood, and my heathen greatness continued to increase until the teachers, the men of Jehovah, came to our land. Some people of Oneroa received them, but we despised them; I was full of pride and anger towards them, and more than once I led my people to fight against the Christian party. Many of our tribe went to live near the teacher in order to be instructed, but I and my wives and our children remained here, at Tamarua. About three or four years ago I went to the teacher's village to see my brother; there I first listened quietly to the meaning of the Word of God, and afterwards Maretu came to preach in this place; he visited me, and explained to me all about my self and salvation. I then began to attend on the Word of God on the day of the Lord, and as my mind became enlightened I felt that my heart was as old as my body was old in years. I have truly been very wicked, but I am now looking to Jesus. He is my Saviour. [37]

Footnotes

[1] Rev. John Williams; 6 July 1823, SOAS, SSL, Box 4, Folder 1, Jacket A. An edited version appears in Prout 1843,172 - 8.
[2] Note Williams emphasis on conversion as the work of the Holy Spirit, and his encouragement of humility among the evangelists, something they often failed to achieve.
[3] Gill, 1894: 197 - 8
[4] Gill, 1876; 304
[5] Gill, 1894; 198
[6] Mataora Harry, 1991, "Te Au Punanga Evengelia Ki Mangaia", *Search Magazine*, Vol. 3 No. 3, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Centre, Rarotonga
[7] Speech by Papa Tiriamai, CICC compound, Oneroa [no date], translated from tape recording by Jim Marurai, 1983.
[8] Mamae, Genealogical Tables of Te Amama or Ngati Vara tribe, MS, SC, Buck Archive, Bishop Museum, Honolulu
[9] Speech by Papa Tiriamai, CICC compound, Oneroa [no date], translated from tape recording by Jim Marurai, 1983.
[10] Story told by Iviiti Aerepo [no date], recorded and transcribed by Kapitirima Teaurima.
[11] *Journal of Voyages and Travel by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, Esq., Deputed from the London Missionary Society*….. Crocket and Brewster, Boston, 1832, pp.238 – 239. Tyerman and Bennet were depending on reports from the Rev. Robert Bourne, the LMS pastor at Taha'a, and Davida and Tiere's supervising missionary who travelled to Mangaia in 1825.
[12] Bourne estimates the islands population in 1825 as follows – Huahine 1,800; Mai'ao-iti 200; Raiatea 1,500; Taha'a 700; Borabora 1,000; Maupiti 300; Total 5,500. Aitutaki 2.000; Atiu 1,500; Mitiaro 80; Maute [Mauke] 100; Rarotonga 4,500; Mangeea [Mangaia] 2,000 ("This is the supposed number of Mangeeans [Mangaians] according to what we saw; but it is not improbable there may be as many more.") Total 10,180.
[13] Rev. William Gill (1813 – 78) brother of George Gill, stationed at Rarotonga 1839 - 52
[14] Rev. John Williams, 1837; 101. See also Charles Barff, 23 October 1827, Huahine, SSL Box 6, Folder 3, Jacket C
[15] 'Parau' is the Tahitian word for 'book' and, iin this context, the Bible, while 'kai' means 'eat' or 'consume'. In Tahiti a learner or disciple of Christianity was referred to as a 'Ha'apii parau'- in the Cook Islands 'Kai parau'.
[16] In 1838 "the whole of the Hervey Islands were placed under the visitation and superintendence of the brethren residing in the group." Rev. William Gill, 28 July 1843, SOAS, SSL, Box16, Folder 4, Jacket B
[17] James C. Vivian, voyage on the John Williams from Tahiti to Sydney, 1 April 1871 – 6

February 1872, SOAS, SSJ, File 159, Box 11. Vivian visited Mangaia briefly on an outstations' inspection at the end of June 1871.
[18] Gill, 1876; 102-3. Gill also credits Maretu with helping to preserve the Mangaian language. Noting the strong influence of Tahitian on the Austral Islands languages Gill writes "And but for Maretu the same fate would have befallen the language of Mangaia" (1876; 103). At the time, the instruction from John Williams to the Tahitian teacher Vaaerua on Mangaia was "to teach the people the Rarotongan language because the Bible for this island of Mangaia and those of Atiu, Mauke, Mitiaro and Aitutaki will all be in the Rarotongan language" (Maretu, 1983; 109). Marjorie Crocombe adds her observation that "In fact the Tahitian teachers were so disorganised and ineffectual that there was little chance of their destroying the local language" (Maretu, 1983; 4).
[19] Gunson, 1978; 266
[20 Tyerman and Bennet (1832, 239) claim that "Davida and Tiere, by introducing to their acquaintance several new sorts of native food… taught them how to profit by those neglected bounties of Providence … Tiere had died in the interval, but Davida was continuing the good work which his deceased brother and he had begun. Thus by native teachers alone… religion, morality, agriculture, boat and housebuilding, manufactures, etc – all that the temporal and spiritual wants of a whole nation required – were more advanced in sixteen months than the same had been in all the centuries which had elapsed before."
[21] Buck/Hiroa, 1934; 172
[22] Buck/Hiroa, 1993; 17 - 18
[23] Gill, 1894; 334. Elsewhere Gill (1880; 139) notes that Pangemiro's son Simeona "became the first deacon and in connection with Barima [Parima] laid the foundation of Christian Society by sanctioning the destruction of idolatry, the establishment of law, and the protection of the early evangelists."
[24] One of these gods Rongo was represented by a shell trumpet and the remaining 12 were carved in wood, the majority by the carver Rori. The 12 wooden god figures were Motoro, Tane, Tane Ngakiau, Tane i te utu, Tane kio, Te Kuraaki, Te'aio, Utakea, Turanga, Teipe, Kereteki and Tangiia.
[25] Maretu, 1983; 122. This is despite Rev. William Wyatt Gill's claim that "the whole 13 [Mangaian god figures] were carried in triumphal procession to the house of Davida" and given to Williams and Platt for transport to London. (Gill, 1894; 335). In July 1845, William and George Gill and Rev. Aaron Buzacott visited Mangaia. Buzacott was given the god figure of Oroiti by Maretu to transport to London. Gill asked if he had looked for the gods Rongo, Tane, and Tongaiti and Maretu's reply was that "They don't really know about their various idols." (Maretu, 1983; 152)
[26] Rev. Aaron Buzacott, 5 December 1854, SOAS, SSL, Box 25, Folder 6, Jacket C
[27] Buck/Hiroa, 1934; 93
[28] Gill, 1892; 14

[29] Gill, 1894; 335
[30] Buck/Hiroa, 1993; 30
[31] Maretu, 1983; 124
[32] Rev. George Platt, *Journal of a Voyage to the Navigators or Samoa, 1837,* SOAS, South Seas Journals, 1837, 8
[33] "The same day Numangatini came to visit us accompanied by Rauue who was Teaoa's eldest son, Numangatini's two wives and all the relatives." (Maretu, 1983; 112)
[34] Moyle, 1984; 28
[35] Moyle, 1984; 28 The cave was more likely in the makatea.
[36] John Williams, Borabora, 19 August 1828, SOAS, SSL Box 6, Folder 6, Jacket B. This information had been gathered by a deacon of the Church at Taha'a who had visited the Hervey Islands at Williams request. Attempts to assist or evacuate Davida were thwarted when "a gale of wind set in from the Southward" preventing their ship from reaching Mangaia. Williams adds - "The two teachers at Matiaro [Mitiaro] are very desirous of going to assist Davida in his work, so we think of removing one from Mauti [Mauke] to take charge of the Matiaro station and take both from Matiaro to Mangaia."
[37] Gill, 1885;169

Oneroa Sunday School, 2004, before renovation (photo - Jeanette Budgett)

Chapter 4

Puruki Ara Tangaroa, Poutoa, February 1828

For the first three years, the Christian converts on Mangaia remained a small minority, supported by Numangatini, Parima of Ngati Tane and Simeona, son of Pangemiro and the Manaune people. They remained subject to harassment and threats from the non-Christian majority on the island. By 1826, Tiere was dead and Davida was forced to sleep in a cave for his own safety. Meanwhile, the former ariki pa uta Te Āo and the Ngati Vara were grouped at Poutoa, keen to return to their former lands and titles. Mounting tensions between converts and non-converts culminated in a battle at Ara Tangaroa, Poutoa in February 1828.

According to Mamae the battle was between Numangatini on one side and Tereavai on the other. Mamae also mentions Te Maru as the chief warrior in Tereavai's army, leading Reilly to suggest that Te Maru may "have commanded the field" while Tereavai entreated his god through prayer for victory. [1]

This is Mamae's first account –

> Ko Numangatini i puruki. O Teravai e te pae o te 'etene tei 'apai tamaki mai. Kua 'akaue te arutoa 'ei Poutoa i Tamarua tamaki ei. Kua rave rai a Numangatini i tei 'akaue'ia. Kua re a Numangatini, Pepuare 1828. O nga puruki'anga teia i te 'au o te mangaia.
>
> *It was Numangatini who fought. Tereavai and part of the heathens brought the battle. The arutoa ordered to have the battle at Poutoa in Tamarua. Numangatini did what was ordered. Numangatini won. February 1828. These two [?] battles were the reign of the Church*. [2]

According to this account, it was Tereavai who initiated the battle. But in his second account in 'E Ara Mangaia' – Mamae states that the battle was brought by the kai parau led by Davida.

> E tae akera 'i tetai tuatau, 'ua tupu te puruki, no Davida teta'i vaka, no Te Maru teta'i vaka, kare e 'ara i tei reira puruki, o to Davida vaka tei 'aere atu, e puruki i Poutoa i te etene, 'ati atura te etene, riro mai ra te 'au i te tara o te Atua e teianoa'i, 'ua reviri mai te ao i roto i te tara a te Atua.'O Numangatini te ariki.

The time came when the battle took place between Davida's tribe and that of Temaru. There was no violation in that battle. Davida's tribe journeyed to fight the heathen at Poutoa. The heathen were broken. The 'au went to the word of God, until now. The conquered were gathered within the word of God. Numangatini the ariki. [3]

Mamae's third account states that Davida and the kai parau defeated Te Maru and the heathens, initiating "the reign of Jesus."

I Poutoa, Tamarua. I a Numangatini te 'au. Koia te 'au o Iesu nei. No Davida te vaka i 'autu, 'e kaiparau. 'Ua pau to Te Maru 'e 'etene. [4]

It was at Poutoa. It was the reign of Numangatini and the peace of Jesus. Davida's vaka, the kai parau defeated Te Maru and the heathens.

While the Christians are referred to as the kai parau or "Bible readers", their opponents at the battle of Poutoa are often referred to as the tutae 'auri. This term derived from the Tahitian pastors and was the name in Tahiti for anyone who broke the law. [5]

According to Mamae, the leader of the tutae 'auri at Poutoa was Tereavai, the priest of the Ngati Vara god Taiao [Te A'io] [6] and a descendent of Mautara. [7]

Tereavai's genealogy (according to Akaeakore's Land Court testimony Mangaia Land Court Minute Book 1;14 and Reilly, 2009; 276) was –

Mautara
Raumea
Te Maru
Rautaiki
Tuka
Tereavai
Akaeakore
Eketa v = Kakao
Akaeakore (Te Rangi Hiroa's informant)

Te Rangi Hiroa regards Tereavai's Ngati Vara lineage and the fact that the battle occurred at Poutoa (to which Te Āo and the Ngati Vara had withdrawn after the battle of Araeva in 1821) as evidence that the battle of Poutoa was an attempt by the Ngati Vara to restore themselves to the lands they had lost in 1821. This is one of many suggested motives for the battle. Another account suggests that the battle was caused by the decision of the wife of Arerua, a chief of

Tava'enga, to leave him while she was pregnant, and go to live with Tematangi. Tematangi later became pava of Ivirua – he was born around 1795 and died in December, 1865 (Gill, 1894; 343).

Yet another account suggests the cause of the battle was a revolt by the non-Christians who refused to change their communal living arrangements, abolish the 'are vaine, give up the practice of 'aratea [love magic] and abandon the practice of multiple wives. The Evangelists objected to the rangatira entering the church with their many wives.

Other accounts point to the aggressiveness of the Christians in seeking converts. As late as 1833, Rev. John Williams reported in *Missionary Enterprises* that the Christians remained "exceedingly zealous for the conversion of their heathen brethren; and had, with this intent, tried many plans, which were rejected with taunts and insults. The Christians, bent upon the accomplishment of their object, had determined to make a tour of the island, and to endeavour to bring in at least one convert each. The heathen party, hearing of this, and suspecting that the Christians intended to come and take them by force, resolved to anticipate their visit, by a formidable attack upon their settlement (Williams, 1837; 216).

Another account of the origins of the battle claims that trouble occurred when the wife of the orometua Rota died and he sought a new wife. A man called Aitama agreed that his daughter Eamaki would be given as a wife to Rota. Aitama is recorded as rangatira of the tapere Te Vai Teata i Uta in Tamarua. According to Upoko Tangianau, Aitama was another name for Pokino, the pu tokotoko or commander of Pangemiro's forces at the battle of Araeva.

Eamaki was said to be a virgin and an 'akapoari [8] - and lived in one of the 'are vaine. However when Aitama consented to Eamaki becoming Rota's wife, a young man called Tereavai intervened, saying "That woman is mine". Aitama believed Eamaki was still a virgin but earlier Tereavai had performed an 'aratea on Eamaki.

Aitama said angrily to Tereavai – "Ua va'ia au e ia i to kavi'i mata tako" – "I hate your black eyes."

In reply, Tereavai gathered his warriors together to do battle with the Christians in order to kill the orometua Rota and take Eamaki as his wife.

Tereevangeria Aratangi [whom Reilly (2009; 280) describes as a descendant of the marriage of the missionary Rota and Eamaki, also known as Manoaariki] blames Tereavai as the cause of the war. She describes him at the leader of the Ngati Kaka'o. The problem with this account was that Rota did not arrive on Mangaia until 1843, that is, 15 years after the battle of Poutoa.

Based on his personal conversations with Tereavai, William Wyatt Gill provides the following account of the war -

> A large tribe of defeated heathen had been living at Butoa [Poutoa] with whom Davida had no influence whatever. A teacher sent to them from the Christian party was ignominiously repulsed: a noble puka tree growing on a marae was cut down by Davida. Next day a clan blackened their faces and covered with ill-smelling clothes as a sign of mourning, paraded the island to loud lamentations, and prepared to attack the converts to Christianity. The Christians were decidedly in the minority; but the upholders of idolatry were so divided amongst themselves that when the battle came off, on February 1828, the numbers on either side were about equal. The heathen were led by Tereavai, priest of Taiao [Te A'io], who, during the actual conflict, was in a thatched house perched upon a rock engaged in rolling out, with his fine voice, prayers to the shark-god to destroy the worshippers of Jehovah for ever. But his incantations were cut short by the utter discomfiture of the heathen. Arakauae [Arakauvae], a brave warrior on the winning side, forbade pursuit of the fugitives – a noble act which will never be forgotten (Gill, 1894; 335-6).

Rev. George Platt visited Mangaia early in 1830 and reported that the Christian party "did not pursue the vanquished as formerly to destroy them but took as many prisoners and they could and carried them to the settlement where they set them to learn the alphabet." [9] Rev. John Williams visited Mangaia a few months later and "was distressed at hearing that… some of the Christian party had acted with great cruelty towards their enemies, by hewing them in pieces while they were begging for mercy." [10] "Had the Christians of Mangaia imitated the conduct of the chiefs and people of Tahiti and the Society Islands, in the exercise of mercy and kindness, in all probability the heathen party would not have resisted, for so many years, every effort to bring them under the influence of the Gospel." [11]

According to Wyatt Gill, "The terms given to the vanquished were that they should each receive a taro-patch from their conquerors and for the future live in the Christian village, and give up their heathen practices… Tereavai afterwards became a useful deacon of the church at Tamarua, and an eloquent builder-up of the faith he had striven to destroy. From his own lips I learnt that he had provoked the fight, in order that his name might go down to posterity with glory!" [12] He became a major informant for William Wyatt Gill (Gill, 1876) and was given a Rangatira title in Tamarua. [13] Tereavai died in March 1865.

Two or three weeks after the war Numangatini asked the various tribes of the island to meet at Raupa. At the gathering he said –

> Akarongo mai kotou e te au 'ui rangatira, te aronga pakari, te au mapu, e te iti tangata

katoatoa. Te akakoroanga o teia uipaanga, e aka'au ia tatou. Ua oti te tamaki, akaoti rai to tatou au manako kikino i roto ia tatou. No reira tatou i uipaanga ai.

Listen rangatira, old people, young people and everyone. The purpose of this meeting is to make peace among us. The war is over and we must forget all the evil thoughts inside us. That is why we are having the meeting.

In response –

Tumai te tangata ua 'au tatou i teia nei te ariki nei matou. Ka aere tatou ka akamori i to tatou atua. Are tatou e akamori i tetai atua ke.

The people stood up [saying] we are at peace now and we all agree. We will go to worship our God. We will not worship any other god.

When the warriors had completed cleaning their weapons, they were hidden for ever. It was agreed that no adze or club was ever to be seen again. The ancestors hid their weapons, no-one knows where. This was the tara tipoki - the complete overthrow of customs associated with the past. It was agreed –

Auraka e tangata e eeu akaou mai i te peu etene.

No-one is allowed to renew the heathen customs.

Anyone who tried to renew these customs or to find the weapon put their life at stake (koia rai te tutaki).

After the war, the people were united. Since they all worshipped the one God, there could be no more wars.

Aitutaki involvement in the Battle of Ara Tangaroa

In 1827 a drift canoe from Aitutaki brought Tupu Ariki of Aitutaki, and the wife of the Aitutaki orometua Mataitai and 16 other Aitutakians to Mangaia. [14] They had set out to visit Rev. John Williams on Rarotonga but had overshot their destination and were seventeen days at sea before finally coming ashore at Mangaia. For some unknown reason they remained on Mangaia from 1827 through to early 1830 and, during this time, participated in the battle of Poutoa.

The Rev. George Platt met this group of Aitutakians on his visit to Mangaia in January 1830. He writes that - “They informed us that there had been war on the island during their residence on it between the haapi parau [Bible learners] and the heathen, themselves having taken part with the former, one of their party had been wounded, as had also the teacher Davida.” [15]

As well as the Aitutaki converts and their chief Tupu ariki, Platt mentions an American whom he took with him on his onward journey from Mangaia. It is not clear from Platt’s account if the American also took part in the battle but Platt notes that he had “drifted there and resided some time amongst them.” It is likely the American was Henry Conant, a seaman from Oakham, Massachussets, who drifted to the Cook Islands following the wreck of the whaling ship *Falcon,* off Rurutu, in 1826.

The use of guns by the Aitutakians has been suggested by Rima, former Secretary of the Aronga Mana in the 1950s - “Power came to them [the kavana] when the forces of the missionary, aided by Aitutaki men with guns, had beaten the heathen at the last battle – the white missionary gave the districts to the ‘Governors’” [16]

The Aitutakians informed Platt that “The Heathen had commenced the war” but speaking with the Aitutakians, Platt reported that “one man who came on the [Aitutaki] Canoe had hinted to me that Davida was the cause of the war and seemed inclined to speak evil of him.” Platt followed this up with the Aitutakians on the return voyage to Aitutaki. “They seem to think some blame attached to Davida as they did not wait for the Heathens to attack but went out to attack the heathens. The teacher was too much offended with the talk of making his skull into a drinking cup. Some allowance ought to be made here as this expression is not only a heavy curse but an expression of sovereign contempt and never fails to irritate exceedingly those who are so addressed.”

This raised concerns for Platt as Davida’s actions were incompatible with his role as a Christian peacemaker. The historian Raeburn Lange has described Davida as “A bold iconoclast in the early years, he was regarded later as a missionary of limited knowledge but steady reliability.” [17]

It appears that John Williams in his haste to missionize islands sent out a large number of only slightly prepared evangelists from stations in Tahiti, Taha’a, Raiatea etc, many of whom proved unsuitable and were later dismissed for immorality, land theft, and personal aggrandisement. Tiberio (Rio) and Papehia were criticized by Pitman as “taskmasters rather than Christian missionaries” while Tiberio was forced by Pitman and Buzacott to give back all the land he had taken, and marry his mistress (Makea’s daughter) before being dismissed from his post.

In 1838, Buzacott reported that the outer islands –

> have been suffering from the want of efficient teachers …their little stock of knowledge has been years since expended as they were but babes in religion when they were sent… At Aitutaki three succesding teachers have fallen into sin and still continue to administer in holy things while guilty of the grossest immoralities… At Atiu when I visited them in 1835, the natives appeared more uncivilized and savage (with some happy exceptions) than when I visited them in company with Williams many years before. The two teachers Tei [Te'ei] and Upa ought to have been removed years before … At Mangaia there are three teachers [Davida, Vaaruea and Havaire] who are jealous of each other and continually quarreling. We have received several letters from them in which they charge each other with the grossest immoralities and natives from there have informed us that one of them lives in constant adultery and is still obstinate in retaining his office....” [18]

Lange also suggests the early Māori evangelists, as in the case of Tiberio, were often unable to distinguish between ecclesiastical and political power. [19] This may also have been true for Davida and contributed to the 1828 war. [20]

Mangaian battle procedures

Yamagushi (2000; 179 - 181) has summarized the rules or procedure governing inter-tribal warfare on Mangaia.

> **(l) Declaration of war**
> In late prehistory after the political authority of Mangaia was established, it became customary for tribes aspiring to power to give some form of notice or declaration of a state of war (Buck 1934: 158). This state of war was announced by threat, challenge, or offering of a propitiatory human sacrifice. At this point in Mangaian history, the propitiatory sacrifice to Rongo became essential to the party seeking office (Buck 1934;159);
>
> **(2) Selection of battle field**
> The place of battle was often selected beforehand and announced by the challenging party. On such occasions it was weeded and cleared of shrubs and banana trunks to enable the opposing forces to draw up in proper formation (Buck 1934: 159);
>
> **(3) Battle formation**
> In battles, the people arranged themselves in rows four deep. The first row was armed with long spears, the second with clubs to defend the spearmen, the third consisted of

young men with sling stones, and the fourth comprised a row of women (Williams 1838; 209);

(4) Relief of the defeated parties
Individuals on a victorious side might save a friend or relative of the opposing side from being killed without any apparent sanction being applied against them, but the defeated people were also able to flee to recognized refuges. from which they eventually could be re-integrated into the wider community (Reilly 1993: 74);

(5) Proclamation of victory
When the peace drum sounded and the fugitives emerged from their refuges, the victors gave them a feast in public recognition of their safety (Buck 1934; 111).

(6) Human sacrifice to Rongo
The offering of a human victim to Rongo and the division of land and titles among the victors.

Most Mangaian battlefields were located in valleys surrounded by small sloping hills and it was common for those not involved in the fighting to watch the battle from these hill tops. Most battles lasted only a day.

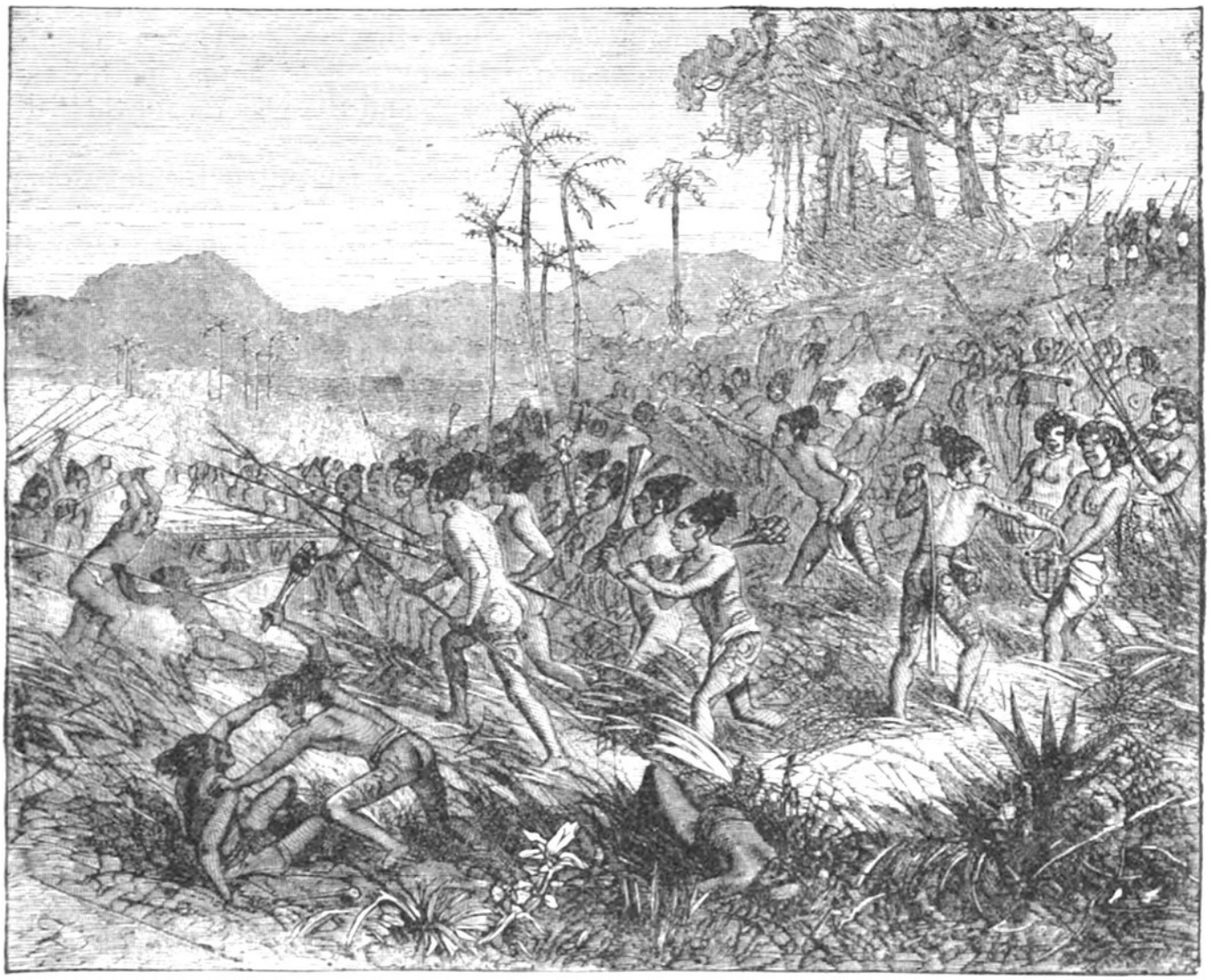
A pe'e dated to 1791, "The Overthrow of Ruanae", speaks of the battle of Arera occurring in a field in the valley floor close to the Vaitangi stream in Tamarua. [21] A lookout in the Paeru hill awaited signs of the opposing warriors while a 'priest-leader' gave commands.

According to John Williams the inhabitants of Mangaia "do not try to hide behind trees and bushes, and take their foes by surprise, but meet them in the open field." [22]

When two parties met, they formed themselves, as noted above, into four lines. Numangatini has described how, as he progressed from youth to adulthood, he moved from the third to the first line of battle - "When quite a lad I went to the battle of Te Atu Apai [c.1810] carrying a basket of stones to sling at the foe, and later, having attained to manhood, at the battle of Rangiura [1814], I fought with a flat wooden sword. In the subsequent battle of Araeva [1821], for the first time, I wielded the long spear." [23]

Williams confirms that –

> They [Mangaians]… arrange themselves in rows four deep. The first is armed with long spears; the second rank carry clubs to defend the spearmen; the third is composed of young



Two factions from Mangaia, fighting in an open field, in a four-line formation, with spear-bearers at the front, club-bearers second, men with slingshots in the third row, and women and young people bearing stones for slingshots and replacement weapons in the fourth row. Reserves are shown in the upper right hand corner. (Image from John George Wood, 1877, opp. page 1034).

> men with slings, the stones from which are all made round and smooth; and the fourth row consists of women. These not only carry baskets of stones and weapons with which to supply the warriors but they also attack the enemy when engaged with their husbands, and it appears, by various accounts which I received, that they are exceedingly fierce. The young chief of a neighbouring island who was present at this conflict [Tupu ariki of Aitutaki who fought on the Christian side at Poutoa] informed me that, while in the heat of the battle, he was greatly annoyed by the fury with which the wife of his antagonist assailed him. He exclaimed "Woman, desist. I am not come to fight women!" She vociferated in a frantic manner "If you kill my husband, what shall I do?" and immediately threw a stone, which struck him on the head, and felled him to the ground; and, had it not been for the prompt assistance of his own people, he would have lost his life at the hands of her husband. [24]

According to William Wyatt Gill, women also intervened to throw "Heavy tikoru clothes…. over the… spears to turn their points aside from the mark." [25]

These formations were similar to those used in Tahiti where the battle formation comprised five lines.

> The divisions of the army were: 1. The *viro aro*, front line, or advanced guard; 2. the *apoa viri*, second rank; 3. the *tapono viri*, shoulder viri, or third rank; 4. the *hotuai*, or fourth line; and 5. the *hoe haabua*, or last division, including the wives, children, baggage, and property of the warriors. The rank immediately in front of the king or principal chief, always contained the bravest men. [26]

> ….the front line, when hard pressed, retires, while those immediately behind advance to sustain the conflict. [27]

This last point also applied to Mangaia. Wyatt Gill writing of the battle of Māueue in which Rori and his father fought notes "The old man fought as a warrior in the ranks; behind him stood his son, spear in hand, ready to occupy his father's place should he fall" (Gill, 1894; 222).

The spear (ʻokiri), club (korare), sling (maka), slingstones (toka maka), the "small war axe" [28] and the deadly kaika'a or triple serrated club were the main weapons of war on Mangaia *(see Appendix 7).* For protection in battle, according to one source, "Their bodies were wound round and round with tapa, as a sort of armour." [29] Gill also suggests the warriors wore "war head-dresses and covered their persons with many folds of twisted native cloth." [30]

Footnotes

[1] Reilly, 2003; 87
[2] Cited in and translated by Reilly, 2003; 85
[3] ‘E Ara Mangaia’ cited in and translated by Reilly, 2003; 85
[4] Akapapa’anga teia no te au vai (nga’i) tamaki i tupu ana i Mangaia (History of Battles which took place on Mangaia) in Reilly, 2003; 86
[5] Henry Bicknell, a missionary who went to Tahiti in the "Duff" [1796-99] once referred to the young people in Tahiti who refused to accept Christian standards as *tutae 'auri* or “the rust of iron”… “The term was afterwards used to designate all the young and lawless in the Society and Cook Islands. Probably intended as a pun on *teuteuarii,* “the king's attendants” [C. W. Newbury]. Tahitians apply *tutae 'auri* (sc. *stercus ferri*) both to a costive [constipated] person or to rust. The word, though not a euphemism, provides a strong metaphor. (Gunson, 1962, 208 - 243). In the Society Islands the *tutae ‘auri* are also sometimes referred to as the ‘ariois as they included people keen to re-establish the ‘arioi societies in which chiefs had certain privileges. “The negative character of the *tutae 'auri* movement is clearly seen in the entire rejection of Christian teaching, and the attempt to go even further by mockery and desecration of Christian institutions.”
[6] The Ngati Vara god Te A’io was incarnate in the eel and shark and worshipped at the marae Mara in Keia.
[7] Gill notes that Tereavai is sometimes noted as the 10th priest of Motoro, “But the truth is, Tereavai was never invested with the priesthood of Motoro as at the time of Makitaka [the 9th priest’s] death, Christianity was already in the ascendant.” (Gill, 1880; 227)
[8] A girl shaded from exposure to the sun and highly valued for her lightly coloured skin.
[9] Rev. George Platt, *Voyage from Borabora to Hervey Islands*, 18 December 1829 - 02 March 1830, SOAS, South Seas Journals, London
[10] Williams, 1837;243. Williams reiterates this in his Journal - “We were informed that some of them were very cruel in the War chopping the Idolators to pieces with their axes tho’ they besought them on their knees to spare them for the sake of the Son of God” in Moyle, 1984; 28
[11] Williams, 1837; 246
[12] Gill, 1894; 335-6. Arakauvae was rangatira of the tapere Angaru (Autaki) in puna Tamarua. In a footnote Gill adds – “When twitted afterwards with their ill-success, Tereavai said, “It was not for want of will on the part of his god, but for lack of power; because the Christians’ God is the strong God.”
[13] Tereavai was given the Rangatira title of Angauru (Autaki) which had been held by Arakauvae. It was referred to as “Ua tutukuia ia Tereavai” – Buck/Hiroa, 1934; 127
[14] Platt reports returning 6 Aitutakians in January 1830, and Williams reports returning the remaining 10 to Aitutaki in May 1830. See Platt's account above and Williams in Moyle, 1984;

29
[15] Rev. George Platt, *Voyage from Borabora to Hervey Islands*, 18 December 1829 - 02 March 1830, SOAS, South Seas Journals, London
[16] Personal communication from Rev. Tau'ue to anthropologist Donald S. Marshall – see D. S. Marshall, Polynesian Journals, 16 November, 1954 – 4 August, 1955 p. 307 in D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus
[17] Lange, 2005; 63
[18] Rev. Aaron Buzacott, 8 December 1838, SOAS, SSL, Box 11, Folder 7, Jacket B
[19] Lange, 2005; 64
[20] The work of the Taha'a evangelists on Mangaia is discussed by Papa Aratangi in his two theses: 'The Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society in the 1820s', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1986; and 'The Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1988
[21] Elsewhere Gill locates the Battle of Arera, the 32nd on the island dated c. 1720, at Ivirua - see Gill, 1880; 236,
[22] John Williams, 1837; 245
[23] *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine (and Annual),* Volumes 33-34 1876; 168-171
[24] John Williams, 1837; 245
[25] Gill, 1890; 332
[26] Ellis, 1831; 284
[27] Wood, 1877; 1034
[28] Gill, 1880; 23
[29] Mrs. Wyatt Gill, "The Contrast – A True Story from Mangaia" in *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine (and Annual)*, Volume 27, (1870; 66-67).
[30] Gill, 1880; 138

(Above) "Man of Mangaia" from Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, 1786

Chapter 5

The Tutae ‘Auri

On 11 January 1830, the Rev. George Platt visited Mangaia [1] almost exactly two years after the last war. He found the leaders of the island still divided. Platt came ashore at the Christian settlement at Oneroa on 12 January 1830.

> When I reached the settlement, there were four of the five principal chiefs or ‘ui Arii [‘ui ariki] and their people collected at the station. Two heathen and two Haapi parau (so those who learn were called) expecting to see me.

Instead of meeting them separately, Platt decided to convene a public meeting in the open air.

> I went and sat down on a stone … the people all sat themselves round on the ground as close as they could. A stool was brought for the Hui Arii. At a little distance outside stood two or three circles of natives to see and hear over the heads of others. A profound distance was observed… I exhorted the chiefs to live in peace, to forget former animosities and bury in oblivion all their past differences, to attempt a heart reconciliation and to embrace and be guided by the truths of the Gospel and then they would be happy etc., etc. I requested the teacher to interpret as I had spoken in Tahitian which he attempted, when an intelligent looking man in the front circle of those who stood around said there was no need – they had understood what I said and it was all very good; that they were desirous it should be so, as I had said, but they were nothing [not important people]; it all rested “with these two” pointing to the heathen Kings. If they two were agreeable, all would then be well.
>
> They [the unconverted chiefs] had said when a European teacher came, they would receive the Gospel. Now that I was among them, we should hear what they said. Mai [a chief of Borabora] gave an account of the first introduction of the Gospel among the Tahitians and the other islands and concluded by urging them to peace. Several gave their opinions, all favourable. After a pause for the chiefs to consider, an appeal was made to the two old [heathen] kings for their decision… One replied his son was with the Christians and that was enough. The other said his son also was with us. As for themselves, they would stand aloof, and abide by their former principles. I begged them if they maintained their old principles to live in peace with those who differed from them and who embrace the Gospel. I had, during the discussion, frequently urged them to hear and learn the new religion and if they did not like it, then they might reject it. One of the Heathen Chiefs said it was quite agreeable to

Mangaian performers in costume at the June 1906 Rarotongan tarekreka (photos - Stephen Savage).

> them, that is the chiefs, the two [heathen] kings were the only obstacle. If they would go, all would soon follow; but they could not think of leaving them or going before them.

Platt speaks of four or five members of the “hui arii” or principal chiefs who assembled to meet him at Oneroa. He also mentions that two of these were heathen and two were Christian converts. It is probable that the two Christian ‘ui ariki were the ariki pa uta, Numangatini and the ariki pa tai, Solomona, the son of Te Āo. And that the “two old [heathen] kings’ were Kaiau, a former ariki pa tai [2] and Te Āo [3], the former ariki pa uta. Elsewhere, Williams describes Kiau [Kaiau] as “The Principal chief of the Idolatrous party.” [4] In any case, it appears there was an agreement among the tutae ‘auri that they would follow the decision of their ariki and would not "leave them or go before them" – (though in both cases the heathen ariki admitted that one of each of their sons had already converted. In Te Āo's case this was Solomona).

At this stage, many members of the Ngati Tane and Ngati Manaune had converted under the leadership of Parima and Simeona, as had the Ngariki under the two ariki, Numangatini and Solomona.

In 1832, Williams was “blown by a contrary wind to Mangaia where we arrived just in time to prevent a war between the heathen and Christian party.” [5]

In a later visit, in late 1833, Williams found that the agreement among the unconverted chiefs to act together on any decision to convert to Christianity, still remained in force. The fact that Ngati Vara chiefs still controlled distinct areas of land on the island, [6] in the puna Veitatei and Tamarua at least, suggests that land distribution following two wars (Araeva and Poutoa) was still unsettled. It is said that, after Poutoa, the defeated were allocated taro plots on the condition they moved to Oneroa and converted to Christianity – yet Williams reports meeting very large numbers of the unconverted living on their taro inside the valleys.

Gill indicates a ‘certain district’ was allocated to the defeated. [7] This may have been Tamarua where Tereavai held the tapere Angauru/Autaki while Maunganui held Maru-kore. [8]

Williams writes about meeting with one unconverted chief still living inland whom he described as “a fine young man, of fair complexion and open countenance, and, like most of his brethren, of very commanding aspect.” [9] Williams had brought Pa ariki, Tinomana ariki and Makea ariki with him from Rarotonga in an effort to persuade the remaining chiefs to convert. [10] This ‘fine young’ (unnamed) Mangaian chief told Williams that - "he was so connected with his brother chiefs, that he was scarcely at liberty to act without them; and, requesting us to see them all before we pressed him for a reply to our proposition, he promised “to think well over again" what he had heard.

Mangaian performers in costume at the June 1906 Rarotongan tarekreka (photos - Stephen Savage).

After Williams left the island in late 1833, the unconverted chiefs held a meeting.

> The result of this meeting was the dissolution of the league [the agreement between the chiefs], and the removal of the greater part of the heathen to the Christian settlement. The stragglers that lingered for awhile behind gradually followed; so that by the last communications I find there are now very few, if any, idolaters remaining. Thus, after ten years' patient and persevering effort, God was pleased … to effect this long-wished-for object, and in this way to secure all the glory to himself. [11]

This, however, was not quite true, as will be seen below.

A few months after Platt's visit in 1830, Rev. John Williams returned to Mangaia, landing on 31 May 1830. He found that "A very large Portion of the Inhabitants remain heathen; but their Idols temples have all been destroyed together with the Idols, so that it is Probable the whole Population will soon become Christians at least in Profession." [12] "The Teachers informed us the number of baptized were as follows - Adults Male and Female 136; Children of the above 300." This was from a total population estimated at around 3,000. [13] The number of adult converts seems low given the conversion of many members of the three major tribes - Ngati Tane, Manaune and Ngariki – but the numbers refer to those who had successfully completed the pre-requisites for baptism. In total, according to Williams, "The Congregation was between five and six Hundred," with around 300 children attending the mission school. [14]

In many ways, and not unsurprisingly, the situation changed very little in the four months following Platt's visit, with at least two chiefs in the Christian camp (Williams identifies them as Te Āo and Maunganui [15]) and, at least, two other chiefs continuing to oppose the new religion. It is almost certain that Williams mistakenly identified Numangatini as 'Maunganui'. Numangatini and Te Āoiti (Solomona) were the two principal Christian ariki – not Maunganui and Te Āo.

Maunganui was a Ngariki chief in the Paparangi division, with maternal and marriage links to Ngati Vara. [16] In his 1830 Journal, Williams writes -

> We had not been long on the shore when we were conducted by the teachers to the house of a Chief called Maugnanui [Maunganui] who to our surprise had cooked a Pig and a suitable portion of taro and other vegetables for our repast. The Chief also made us a Present of Cloth of their own making, and a considerable quantity of food for the use of the vessel as a token of his joy, he said at seeing on his land, and in his own house, "the people from a far land who had brought them the word of life." [17]

He almost certainly means Numangatini. And on another visit a few months later, on 22 August 1830, Williams writes – “A large house for Magnanui [Maunganui] had been built since our former visit. A number of Idolators with their Chief had begun to attend instruction and the teachers had every prospect that all the inhabitants would soon embrace the Gospel.” [18] The “large house for Magnanui” suggests that either Maunganui and his extended family had become members of the Christian village (but we know they had not) or Williams has again mistaken Numangatini for ‘Maunganui’.

In his published account *Missionary Enterprises*, Williams writes that in late 1833 while visiting Mangaia, accompanied by Pa ariki, Tinomana ariki and Makea ariki, he met with Maunganui at his home in Tamarua and found him “adorned with his heathen trappings.”

> Addressing the chief, I expressed my regret that he, with so many of his brethren, still refused the invaluable blessings of Christianity; but was yet more grieved to find that, on the following day, they were about to make war upon the Christians, which it was the immediate object of my visit to prevent. He replied that he was truly glad that I had come, and that my arrival was most opportune.
>
> He had been informed, that the opposite party intended to take him by force and make him a Christian; and not being inclined to yield, he had determined to fight; but, since I had come for the purpose of dissuading him from so doing, he would lay aside all thoughts of war. We then pressed upon him the important subject of religion and wished him to accompany us to the Christian settlement and place himself under the instruction of the teachers.
>
> To this he said he would consent immediately if I would make him king; assuring me that the supremacy was originally his father's. I informed him that, if Christianity had found him in the possession of supremacy, it would have acknowledged him as supreme;* but, as that was not the case, it was not my business to depose one chief and set up another; and, if this was the only condition on which he could be induced to embrace the true Saviour, he must live and die a heathen, and his soul be lost for ever. My companions spoke to him faithfully and affectionately, but he appeared to remain steadfast to his purpose. [19]

Williams adds -

> * Supremacy in this island is little more than nominal power, being invested in the Kai tapere (district eaters, or heads of districts). The chief authority, I think was originally held in connexion with a religious office.

Maunganui’s claim to be ‘king’ derived from his succession to the position of ariki in the

Paparangi division of the Ngariki following the death of his father Tuere. After the battle of Araeva, he was allocated a tapere in the puna Tamarua. It is possible that his maternal and marriage links to Ngati Vara and opposition to abandoning the old religion led him to support the tutae ‘auri in the final battle. William Wyatt Gill in *Life in the Southern Isles*, seems to confirm this, noting “Williams, in his *Enterprises*, mentions his having passed a night under the roof of a *defeated chief named Maungauni*, at Tamarua.” [20]

Williams also identifies another of the non-Christian chiefs as Kaiau, describing him as “the Principal chief of the Idolatrous party.” Kaiau was the name of the ariki pa tai immediately before Numangatini. Wyatt Gill states he “was living for some years after [the] Gospel came.” [21] During his May 1830 visit, Williams writes, -

> We went in company with the Teachers and two of the Chiefs who have embraced Christianity, to visit some of the Chiefs who have not embraced the Gospel. We conversed some time with Kiau the Principal chief of the Idolatrous Party. He appeared very angry at the effects of the late war; said to have been created by the Idolatrous Party in which he said he had lost five of his relatives but we exhorted him to forget that now as his relatives were unhappily killed, and could not be restored to life again! We lamented with him that unhappy war and hoped that if he and his people embraced the gospel they would henceforth live in Peace. We were Pleased to find this Chief more tractable at the close of our conversation and express himself willing to come to a publick meeting to which we invited him and his People in hopes of being able to induce them to attend the instruction of the native teachers. [22]

Kaiau did not attend the subsequent public meeting. [23]

On his later visit to Mangaia in 1831, Williams again went to visit the still unconverted Mangaians living in settlements in several inland districts, including a population of two or three hundred tutae ‘auri `in one unnamed puna -

> Finding that vast numbers were still obstinate in their resolution to remain in heathen darkness, we determined to visit them at their own respective districts and speak to them upon the momentous concerns of their souls and eternity. After a pleasant walk over a mountain, and across a beautiful valley, around which the huts of the natives were erected, we arrived at the chief's house.
>
> He received us with great respect, and immediately dispatched a messenger to invite, or rather to desire, the people to assemble. They instantly obeyed the summons; and in a short time two or three hundred were convened, who were dressed most fantastically. The females wore wreaths of entwined leaves and ornamental flowers of varied hue, with necklaces of

> berries, while their persons were profusely anointed with scented oil.
>
> The men also had expended their ingenuity in decorating their persons. To this company the truths of the Gospel, together with the present and future advantages of embracing it, were explained with the greatest possible simplicity, and they were urged to an immediate acceptance of proffered mercy: especially the chief, who was an old man, and who was informed that death would very soon remove him out of this world to another, in which his eternal doom would be unalterably fixed. They behaved with decorum, listened with attention, and promised to remember what had been said, but declined an immediate acceptance of our invitation. The chief expressed his obligation for the honour conferred upon him by our visit, and again assured us that he would seriously consider what he had heard; and, although we feared that little permanent impression had been made, we proceeded to the next district, with the satisfaction of knowing that bread-corn had been cast upon the waters, which would be found after many days. [24]

Going out to meet the unconverted chiefs again in 1833, Williams discovered that solidarity among the unconverted chiefs was not as strongly felt among their families.

In Tamarua, Maunganui's wife informed him -

> that she had long wished to become a Christian, because, when she compared herself with the Christian females, she was much ashamed, for they had bonnets, and beautiful white garments, while she was dressed in "Satan's clothes"; they could sing and read, while she was in ignorance. She also expressed pity for her children, who were uninstructed in many interesting things which the Christian children knew; and she wished much, if her husband would not allow her to become a Christian, that he would send the children to our settlement. [25]

Proceeding to the next district (Ivirua or Veitatei) -

> … we reached the residence of the most powerful and influential district chief. He received us with great cordiality, had a large portion of food prepared, and sent for the neighbouring chiefs [presumably Rangatira] and people to the former of whom, seven in number, I was ceremoniously introduced. Taking them by the hand, I stated the object of my visit to each. After some consultation among themselves, the principal chief addressed me, and said, they would prefer that all the heathen should become Christians together; and that they would hold a meeting, as soon as possible, to consider the subject. If, however, that could not be accomplished, they would then dissolve the covenant now existing between the chiefs, that each might follow his own inclinations." [26]

> “In the meantime," he said, “we who are now present, do give permission to any of our people who feel disposed to accompany you to the settlement, and place themselves under instruction." On hearing this, several immediately came forward, and expressed their intention to take advantage of the permission thus given. The moment they had avowed their determination, the heathen commenced a most dismal howling, and clung around those who were about to leave them, kissing them and weeping over them as though they were about to be slain…. Taking our leave, and accompanied by eight or ten heathen families, we hastened to the Christian settlement…” [27]

Hiroa writes that children of the tutae ‘auri stole coconuts and plantains from the plantations in order to be taken into the Christian village by police, and while there they attended school and received schoolbooks and hymnals for self-instruction at home in the valleys. [28]

On 16 July, 1834, Mangaia was visited by Rev. Charles Barff, his wife, and a Royal Navy Lieutenant called Thomas Nightingale who was looking for specimens of Pacific natural history, in particular botany and bird life.

Contrary to Williams' statement in 1833, that there were “very few, if any, idolators remaining”, Nightingale reported that the population of Mangaia, ten years after the introduction of the Gospel and six years after the last war remained evenly divided -

> while a portion of the islanders have been induced by them to adopt Christianity… an equal number still cling to their ancient manners and customs, and, although no longer worshipping idols, evince the contempt which they feel for their converted countrymen, by permitting no other covering to their bodies save the long dark hair which nature gave them, and practising, in all their grossness, those lascivious dances, which, as they gratify their most powerful passions, offer one of the strongest barriers to the enlightenment of their reason. Not long ago these two parties had a fierce contest [the battle at Poutoa], which, although terminating in favour of the former, produced no other effect than that of widening still more the breach which had already separated them. The native teachers, however, indulge sanguine hopes, springing, I fear, rather from their anxiety for, than from a probability of their speedy fulfilment, that a short time will only elapse ere the heathenish practices will be relinquished for more civilized habits and less immoral amusements. [29]

Five years later, when Maretu arrived in 1839, the picture of conversion was bleaker - “Then, [at Oneroa] there were only sixty in communion at the Lord's Supper; at Tamarua they were heathens; here at Ivirua there were one or two who had begun to pray to God.” [30]

Maretu, on his own and together with Rev. William Gill, visited inland Keia between 1839 and

1841 to meet with “all the people who had remained on their land.” He describes meeting Ta’a and Tau’a and their families. “Those two were great warriors during heathen times.” They were not antagonistic to Christianity but they believed that “Metuaarutoa and the others have conducted the teaching of the word of God in the wrong way. Consequently, the hearts of the people were troubled.” They expressed confidence in Maretu and agreed for their families to be instructed in the village but “Don’t bother about us. We are too old. Try your best to get all the others to the village.” (Maretu, 1983; 120). In Tava’enga he visited Ta’aki who was still living inland. He and his family accompanied Maretu to the Christian village (Maretu, 1983; 121). In Karanga he visited Tira and his family. Tira refused to allow his children or his brother to join the Christians. “They stayed behind to look after their disgusting idols Tane, Rongo, Teaia [Te A’io], Oreiti [Oroiti] [31] and Motoro [32] although his children really wanted to go to Ivirua or to run away to live in Oneroa.” Tira remained steadfast against the Church but later his younger brother moved to Ivirua and his children moved to Oneroa (Maretu, 1983; 122).

Two years later, on 9 August 1841, Rev. William Gill and Maretu – “left Oneroa to visit a heathen settlement. We were received kindly; had a long conversation with the heathen. They listened attentively to all that was advanced. One old man said he would not go to the Christian settlement - his mind was made up to continue where he was until he died; but his two wives and a large family attend the schools…” [33]

This was in Keia. According to Maretu - “consequently three younger brothers of a man called Ata came to the village.” The elders agreed to be visited on Sundays by a church member (Maretu, 1983; 132). The also visited a man in Keia called Okinga who lived at Rupetau and had prophesied the visit of Captain Cook. Okinga was subsequently baptized (Maretu, 1983; 120). Moving on to Veitatei they visited two families including that of Arapiaki. Some of the family members agreed to move to the village while the rest asked for the teachers to visit and instruct them.

In 1843, Rev. William Gill visited Karanga to follow up Maretu’s visit to Tira. “He was tall in person, well clad with native cloth, grave in manner, and about forty years old; numerous ornaments of shell and human hair were suspended at the lobe of each ear; his own hair hung dishevelled on his back, and about thirty of his children and children’s children sat around him.
“Friend we have come to see you,” I said, on entering his house.
“Blessing on you?”
“What is your name?”
“My name is Tira”, was his reply.
“Are these your children?”
“Yes, most of them are my children.”
“How many wives have you?” I inquired.

“I have only one wife now living; three are dead,” he replied.
“Is this your dwelling-place?”
“Yes; here my father, and my father's father lived, and here I live with my children, and here I intend to die.”
“Friend,” I continued, “the light of the Word of the true God has now been shining a long time on you, in Mangaia.”
“Have you no desire to attend to instruction in that Word?”
“No,” he replied, “but I sometimes hesitate.”
“You are getting old, my friend,” I rejoined, “and death may come and find you destitute of that good which alone prepares for another world.”
“Yes, death may come,” he replied, “and then there will be an end.”
“An end!” I exclaimed, “but you believe in a future state, do you not?”
“Yes,” he continued, “but who knows the truth about it?”
Here I tried to explain to him the Truth of the Word of God, about sin and salvation, this world and the world to come. [34] These things were evidently not new to him; but he became sullen and slow in his replies. And concluded the conversation by saying that he had seen the folly of idol-worship, but that he still believed in the religion of his forefathers, and that he intended to remain in his present state until death. Finding that he could read a little, I sent him a New Testament, expressing my hope that he would read it; but, to the dismay and grief of all, he returned it, saying he had made up his mind to do without it. This was the *first and only* instance in the history of Mangaia of refusing to accept a book, and it produced no little anxiety in many of his children. This man was frequently visited by members of the Church, but he lived on in obstinate unbelief, and the native teacher speaking of his death says, “Tira lay ill a long time and became very unhappy. *His mind was light but his heart was hard.* He was full of fear and exhorted his children not to follow him in unbelief” (Gill, 1856; 163-4).

In 1845, on his third visit to Mangaia, William Gill noted the continuing presence of “wild 'Tutaeauris' and young men at the heathen stations, who are visited every week by members of the church…” [35]

In September 1851, the Rev. George Gill noted that “some 20 of the more lawless and refractory Tutaeauri have spontaneously joined our school and classes” [36]

On 6 July 1855, Rev. William Wyatt Gill reported that the Mangaian church was still trying to convert the remaining tutae ‘auri. He writes –

> there is another class of persons in these islands named ‘tutaeauri’ consisting, unhappily, of all who are resolved to live in the practice of gross sin and who therefore frequently suffer the castigation of the native law. Even these attend our morning and afternoon Sabbath services;

> but on no other occasion whatever are they present. Occasionally a 'tutaeauri' will come to me with an acknowledgement of the sin and folly of his past course, and request that his name be enrolled as a class member – or regular attendant of all the services and adult schools. By this act he certainly becomes a hopeful character but it is perhaps nothing surprising that amongst such people as them, many should again be enticed away by their former companions in sin. Many have evinced a genuine sorrow for their eternal welfare while a few have returned to their former evil practices. It is to this class of individuals that we look for accessions to the church from time to time. [37]

In 1859, Rev. William Wyatt Gill reported that of the total population of 2,306 Mangaians, "Probably there are *not* 20 individuals who never enter the house of God." [38]

Finally, in 1865, Gill reported the death of the "last heathens on Mangaia" (see the story of Arikikaka and his wife below) yet when the Rev. James Chalmers visited Mangaia for seven weeks during the months of November/December 1871, he recalled being carried on a chair from Tamarua to Oneroa, (having sprained his ankle), "by a small army of young men from Oneroa with great bushy heads of flowers round their necks – sure signs they were not church members." [39]

And in 1881 Rev. G. A. Harris wrote of Mangaia –

> The old spite of heathenism has not yet died out. I make these remarks for the purpose of explaining the fact that there is still a small band of so-called heathen in the midst of us – men who keep entirely aloof from the missionary and the services of the sanctuary. Although most all such men have houses in the village, yet they spend most of their time away among the plantations and in the bush. One of the foremost of these is a wicked man who was many years ago a teacher or pastor having been taught in the Institution [Takamoa] but who turned away from all things spiritual and divine because he was reproved by a former white missionary for having done something wrong. Two others of their number are men or chiefs and have great power over all the rest. Some time ago, at the beginning of the new year, I visited these men in the company with my deacons inviting them to the house of God and urging them to come forward and seek the Saviour. At the commencement of the present year, by my request, my deacons again visited them but as on the former occasion without success attending their efforts. Some of these so-called "etene" are like Noah's carpenters who although they aided in building the ark did not make it their home of safety. The Mangaian Church their hands had helped to build is not sanctuary or bethel to them. A few years it was my happiness to succeed in persuading a very dark-minded and heathenish character to accept the truth and join himself to God's people. Papakea I am glad to say has been a consistent church member ever since that time and a good friend of the missionary. [40]

Arikikaka and his wife – “the last heathens on Mangaia”

In July 1841 Rev. William Gill and Maretu visited Karanga and the families of Arikikaka, Vaerua and Tira. Tira’s family had left to join the mission at Oneroa. Arikikaka asked William Gill to “send someone to teach us. We’ll remain here at home. We are very satisfied. It would be too difficult to carry food such a long way.” The missionary agreed …” [41] This is perhaps the origin of the story that Arikikaka brought the church to Ivirua/Karanga, despite the fact he is described by European missionaries as the “last heathen” on Mangaia.

Shortly after his arrival on Mangaia in 1851, the Rev. William Wyatt Gill noticed “one man who excited much interest in my own mind, and as Mr. Gill informed me, one of three or four yet remaining in the island who, although they have virtually renounced idolatry, have never placed themselves under Christian instruction. His hair was very long and tied up in the manner of a woman … When asked by Mr. Gill why he did not remove that badge of heathenism, he replied, “I know the good word; but do not be anxious about my becoming a Christian, for I am an old man. Let me wear my hair, that it may show what heathens we once were.” How different from an aged man who stood very near him and who had formerly been the priest of an idol temple. At our request he gave us a specimen of the senseless prayers he formerly was accustomed to offer blocks of wood and stone.” [42]

In a letter dated 22 January 1854, Rev. William Wyatt Gill, who was then living at Tamarua, wrote of his fellow missionary at Oneroa, Rev. George Gill -

> Rev. George Gill has in his possession a remarkable [idol] recently given him by the last heathen on the island. The ancient relic of a sanguinary period I refer to, is a stone about the size of an orange, perfectly round. This had been long worshipped in secret by the poor old man that gave it to Mr. Gill. The old man had determined not to yield to the new religion; and so long had he adhered to his purpose, that nothing was more surprising than his bringing the idol of his forefather to the missionary. Mr. Gill assured me that when he came to him his whole frame was convulsed, as if in an agony of excitement. The perspiration seemed to fall in streams from his forehead as he gave up his “relic of lies.” He acknowledged that God had subdued this once savage land for himself.” [43]

The name of the ‘last heathen’ was Arikikaka, a rangatira of Karanga. Eleven years later, Rev. Wyatt Gill, following the annual May celebrations, held that year in Ivirua, described the baptism on 17 May 1865 of ‘the *two last heathens* of Mangaia” – Airkikaka and his wife, both aged upwards of 70 years.

Arikikaka's household god; Oc.9939 deity figure made of brown stone, flattened globular shape." "God from Mangaia, answering to the household gods of the Romans but not usually kept in the house – in some shady, sacred place." (Collected from Arikikaka by Rev. George Gill, Mangaia © The Trustees of the British Museum).

> It is now eleven years since this old man surrendered to my excellent predecessor one of his chief idols. He told me not long since that although the stone was given up, his dark heart clung for many years after to the dark superstitions of his ancestors. Heathenism is not mere idol worship; it is an entire subjection of all the actions of daily life to the imagined control of invisible demons, some good but most intensely bad…
>
> His only child, a Church member, married a pious young man, who often visits his father-in-law. He obtained permission to perform family worship when staying with these aged heathens. Very gradually did the light of life dawn upon the minds of Arikikaka and his wife. I frequently visited them and conversed about the great truths of Christianity. It was very pleasing to see indications of a great change of sentiment and feeling on this all important subject. Hearing of our arrival at Ivirua, he was taken to the village, and expressed his desire to be baptized. To this I agreed, upon his professing his faith in the Saviour, and his wish publicly to avow his renunciation of the idols in which he had so long spent his trust. At the time appointed he spoke with great emotion of God's long suffering in sparing him at length to unite with this people in His worship and service. He exhorted the Church members to fidelity and zeal in their Master's service. Through sheer exhaustion, he was compelled several times to sit down for a few seconds. All eyes were fixed upon this aged relic of a bygone superstition, not without deep gratitude for the change wrought." [44]

Arikikaka died a few weeks after his baptism [45]

An American tutae ‘auri

In a letter dated 20 June 1860, Rev. William Wyatt Gill tells the story of an American on Mangaia who prayed to Rongo.

> A few weeks since an American married to a native woman, left this island, after spending several months here. George C. cannot read but nevertheless has some acquaintance with the Scriptures. He suffers from a severe chronic complaint, contracted by exposure to damp and cold during a long residence in the islands. (During his visit here, he frequently came to me for medicine. I embraced the opportunity of speaking to him respecting his spiritual welfare. He appeared interested in the subject. His disease continued to gain ground, as he had the misfortune to obtain a case of brandy from a vessel trading here, and which he daily drank to intoxication. I remonstrated with him upon the folly of such a course, but to no purpose. He at length became so ill that he sent to request me to visit him. He professed repentance for his past conduct. I directed him to the only true source of strength and forgiveness. Next day, Sabbath, at his request, I sent a deacon to read and pray with him. George was so much

interested that he himself concluded the little service with a prayer in English. A few minutes after this, his wife was taken in a fit. He obtained a young cocoanut leaf, split the mid-rib and placed it on her neck and then invoked the aid of Tiki and Tangaroa, the ancient idols of the island where he usually resides. The deacon, grieved and astonished, begged him to desist but in vain. The day following George walked to the site of an ancient marae, prostrated himself upon a stone formerly held sacred and in the native dialect called upon the idols of this island, O Motoro! O Tane! O Rongo! Here am I acceptably, ye gods of this island. O teach me! What suitable offering can I bring? Remove my disease. Restore me to health," etc, etc, etc. He lay there all night. At dawn some natives carried him back to his dwelling. This conduct was repeated two or three times. He now sought for the sacred fountains where in former times the sick were directed by the heathen priests to bathe in the hope of recovery. I saw him returning from one of these excursions. He seemed to have a superstitious dread of entering our premises. I therefore spoke to him in the road and told him plainly what I thought of his wicked proceedings and entreated him to give them up at once as he at least could not plead ignorance at the last days. He replied "In my own island I have had too many proofs of the power of idols to despise them. I am therefore resolved to spend 10 days in seeing what they can do for me. But if during that period I get no better, I can return to the worship of Jehovah." I pointed out to him the absurdity of worshipping idols which I believe had long since been deposited in the Missionary Museum, London. I reminded him of what God himself had declared, "O, I am a jealous God" and again "by glory will I not give to another neither my praise to graven images," etc. etc. I added that his repentance might be too late.

George C. trembled exceedingly during our conversation. He did not however visit the marae. A few weeks after he was afflicted with virulent ulcers in both legs, apparently incurable. I visited him several times but found it exceedingly difficult to gain his attention to religious subjects. When he left Mangaia, being unable to walk, he was carried on a sofa to the beach and there secured in a large canoe and put aboard the vessel that conveyed him to his own island. May God grant to him to see the folly of his ways and may he find in the Great Physician of souls what idols and sacred fountains can never impart.

The natives were utterly astonished that a white man educated in the knowledge of God should prefer the worship of idols. They are firmly persuaded that his loathsome disease was the mark of God's anger towards him.[46]

Footnotes

[1] Rev. George Platt, *Voyage from Borabora to Hervey Islands*, 18 December 1829 - 02 March 1830, SOAS, South Seas Journals.
[2] Kaiau lived until 1853.
[3] Te Ao lived until 1829.
[4] Moyle (ed.), 1984; 25
[5] Rev. John Williams, 27 September 1832, SOAS, SSL, Box 8, Folder 7, Jacket A
[6] See for example, Williams, 1837; 217 – 219 where he speaks of visiting the unconverted chiefs at their inland settlements and includes a description of Maunganui's settled residence in the Tamarua valley.
[7] Reilly, 2009; 274 -5. William Wyatt Gill, 27 April 1865, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 3, Jacket C. We were unable to locate this letter in the NLA Australian Joint Copying Project collection.
[8] Buck/Hiroa, 1934; 127
[9] Williams, 1837; 222
[10] Williams, 1837; 216 "Taking with me the three chiefs from Rarotonga, we stepped into the canoe, dashed over the reef upon the crest of a curling billow, and landed at an uninhabited part of the island."
[11] Williams, 1837; 223. Later, on page 492, he writes that by 1834 "with the exception of a few at Mangaia, I believe there does not remain a single idolater, or vestige of idolatry."
[12] Moyle, 1984; 25
[13] Williams estimated the lower figure of 2,000 - Moyle, 1984; 27
[14] Moyle, 1984; 26. Later in the Journal (p. 28) Williams confirms – "In 1830 the number had increased to almost 500 Men, Women and Children."
[15] As Moyle (1984; 25 footnote) notes, "The published account describes Maunganui as 'principal chief'" (Williams 1838:256) noting that he "appeared to remain steadfast to his (heathen) purpose' (p.257); by contrast, the journal calls him a 'Christian chief (p.27)."
[16] Reilly, 2009; 93
[17] Moyle, 1984; 25
[18] Moyle, 1984; 89
[19] Williams, 1837; 218-20
[20] Gill, 1876; 45 – *emphasis added.*
[21] Gill, MS "Genealogy of the Kings of Rarotonga and Mangaia", cited Reilly, 2009; 94. Kaiau died in 1853.
[22] Moyle, 1984; 25

[23] Moyle, 1984;.27
[24] Williams, 1837; 213
[25] Williams, 1837; 220
[26] Williams, 1837; 221- 2
[27] Williams, 1837; 222- 3
[28] Buck/ Hiroa, 1993; 22
[29] Nightingale, 1835; 99 - 103
[30] Gill, 1880; 175
[31] In 1845, Buzacott visited Mangaia and was given the god figure of Oroiti by Maretu to transport to London. During the visit, Rev. William Gill asked Maretu if he had looked for the gods Rongo, Tane, and Tongaiti. Maretu's reply was that "they don't really know about their various idols." (Maretu, 1983; 152)
[32] Maretu, 1983; 122
[33] Gill, 1880; 106
[34] Tira had previously been visited by Maretu. Discussing the after-life, Tira told Maretu – "If you had said there was an 'are vaine then I would listen, or if you had said there were taro swamps there, I would listen." (Maretu, 1983; 122)
[35] Gill, 1880;174
[36] Rev. George Gill, 30 September, 1851, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, Folder 4, Jacket B
[37] Rev. W. W. Gill, 6 July 1855, SOAS, SSL, Box 26, Folder 3, Jacket A
[38] Rev. W. W. Gill, 5 March 1859, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 4, Jacket C
[39] Rev. James Chalmers, 17 January 1872, SOAS, SSL, Box 33, Folder 4, Jacket B
[40] Rev. G. A. Harris, 20 August 1881, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 1 1866-1880; "A short review of 10 years residence…"
[41] Maretu,1983; 133
[42] Letter from Rev. William Wyatt Gill, 15 May, 1851 published in *The Christian Witness and Church Members Magazine/Foreign Missionary Record*, Volume X, John Snow, London, 1853, 29- 30
[43] Rev. William Wyatt Gill, letter dated 22 January 1854, published in *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine*
[44] Letter from William Wyatt Gill, 25 May, 1865, published as "Polynesia; Extinction of Heathenism in Mangaia", in *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, 1 July 1865
[45] *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, Volume III, 1866; 489. Further information on Arikikaka can be found in Gill, 1876; 51; *The Sunday Magazine*, 1875, pp. 822-823; Gill 1876;188
[46] Rev. William Wyatt Gill, 28 June 1860, SOAS, SSL, Box 28, Folder 1, Jacket D

Twin coconut tree, Mangaia - similar to Numangatini's twin coconut tree at Taukea (photo Ken Graham, 1920s)

Chapter 6

Tama ʻūʻā

In 1958, the anthropologist Donald S. Marshall spoke with the Veitatei pava Ma'arona about the respective roles of the Aronga Mana and the Cook Islands Christian Church, (formerly the London Missionary Society Congregational Church).

> Ma'arona says the only 'real work' of the Aronga Mana is 'land' and 'the people.' But, in response to my question as to the relation of the Aronga Mana with the Church [he replied] – 'When the Gospel came here the Aronga Mana 'caught it and set it upon their thighs, like a son.' Since then they have charged their successors to succor [nourish] it and keep it on their thighs. It is the kavanas who are the father of the church not the ariki. Through the years the church was 'like a son on the thigh of its father' until pastor Ra'ui [Pokoati] [1] came in and 'started to kick the father'. It is the father's place to go in front of the son, but then the son started to go in front of the father. In the old days [i.e.before Ra'ui and later pastors], there was plenty of food and "fish right up to the shore" – now it is "no more like this - for in the old days the pastor stayed in the pastorate doing the pastor's work ('praying'), not going inland, fishing, planting, etc. The weekly food for the pastor is 'feeding the child' and it has gone on from the beginning until the present. [2]

Ma'arona makes a number of points – the church as a 'son of the thigh' or tamaʻūʻā; the respective roles of the pastorate ('praying' or spiritual matters) and the Aronga Mana (matters of land and titles); the kavana as 'fathers of the church', rather than, as initially, the ariki Numangatini; and the negative consequences for the people and the land when the pastor 'goes in front of the father'.

The church as tama ʻūʻā

The term "tama ʻūʻā" (literally, "child of the thigh") refers to a privileged but not a biological child, who enjoys no necessary rights or entitlement. Frederick J. Moss in *The Maori Polity in the Island of Rarotonga* (1894) distinguishes between children adopted from *within* kindred families and those adopted from *outside* the kindred.

> The adopted members are numerous in every family and are not distinguished from the rest. They have the same rights and are under the same obligations. …. The child adopted must belong to kindred families in order to enter at once into the family. If from other tribes or

> people, he does not become a member till formally admitted and may at any future time be cast out. Children in this position are known as Tama ūā (children of the thigh). [3]

For an adoptee from outside the kindred, rights and entitlements remain conditional or contingent. On Mangaia, the 'Ēkālēsia, introduced in 1824, is referred to as the tama‘ū‘ā, originating ‘outside’ the kindred; adopted into it, but having no inherent rights or entitlement.

The Mangaian 'Ēkālēsia is also described as the “tama‘ū‘ā o Numangatini” while it is said of the ariki Numangatini - “E tiputa rangi ua to ou e ta’u ariki.” “Yours is only a tiputa of the heavens, o my ariki”. A tiputa in this context refers to a ceremonial robe of office, in this case Numangatini’s office as High Priest (ariki pa tai and later ariki pa uta) prior to the arrival of Christianity. It tells us that Numangatini's mana derives from his association with the old priesthood and the new church. It is also an oblique reminder that on Mangaia power over land is concentrated in the hands of the six kavana – the descendants of leading warriors in the final war on Mangaia.

Pokino Aperahama, speaking of the arrival of the Gospel notes -

> The warriors asked where the new god was to be put. Numangatini said “Here…. On his thighs…not on the land” because Numangatini did not own the land, that was owned by the warriors. [4]

Initially, Christian converts from all parts of the island were concentrated at the mission station – “God’s village” – at Oneroa.

Later, when Tamarua asked for their own church, Numangatini asked the aronga mana of Tamarua -

> Ka apai ratou i ta ratou Evangeria i’ia?
>
> *Where will they take their Gospel*

they replied –

> Ka apai ratou i ta ratou Evangeria i runga i to ratou ua, mei tei oti e ka riro teia ei tama‘ū‘ā na ratou.
>
> *They will take their Gospel on their shoulders as finalized and this will be their* tama‘ū‘ā. [5]

And when Ivirua requested their own church, Numangatini asked the aronga mana of Ivirua and Karanga –

> Ka ‘apai koe i ta’u Evangeria ki’ea taporo ai?
>
> *Where are you going to take the Gospel and put it?*

The answer given was –

> I runga i ta’u tama‘ū‘ā. [6]
>
> *On my thigh*

So, as the church moved out of Oneroa into the territories of Ivirua/Karanga and Tamarua, the respective roles of the church and the pava were reaffirmed as a tama‘ū‘ā relationship – the church as an adopted child of the puna governors. And, in fulfilment of their role as ‘fathers of the church’, the kavana, in turn, undertook to ‘succor it [feed the Church] and keep it on their thigh.’ [7]

Papa Aratangi notes-

> When the churches were established in each of the three villages, the kavana’s house was built next to the Church and the minister’s house. The reason was that he [the kavana] is responsible for whatever the minister needs, including food and it was his duty to let the people of the village know [the pastor’s needs]. [8]

The pastor’s needs were met by village sub-districts led by a rangatira ā puku, the puku being a contribution of food to the pastor’s household. Meanwhile, the Church’s doctrine of peace -“te au o te Evangeria’ – ensured, through the abolition of warfare, the continued mana of the kavana over the land allocated to them after the last war. [9]

The designation of the church as tama‘ū‘ā may therefore be seen as an agreement between the Church and the Aronga Mana, under which the church would take care of the spiritual life of the island while the Aronga Mana took care of land and governmental matters. This arrangement continued the pre-Christian separation of political rule (‘ua mangaia) from spiritual rule (the three ariki).

Before Numangatini died in 1878, one of his requests to the Aronga Mana was -

"Kakaro ake tau nga nu ma'anga i Taukea"

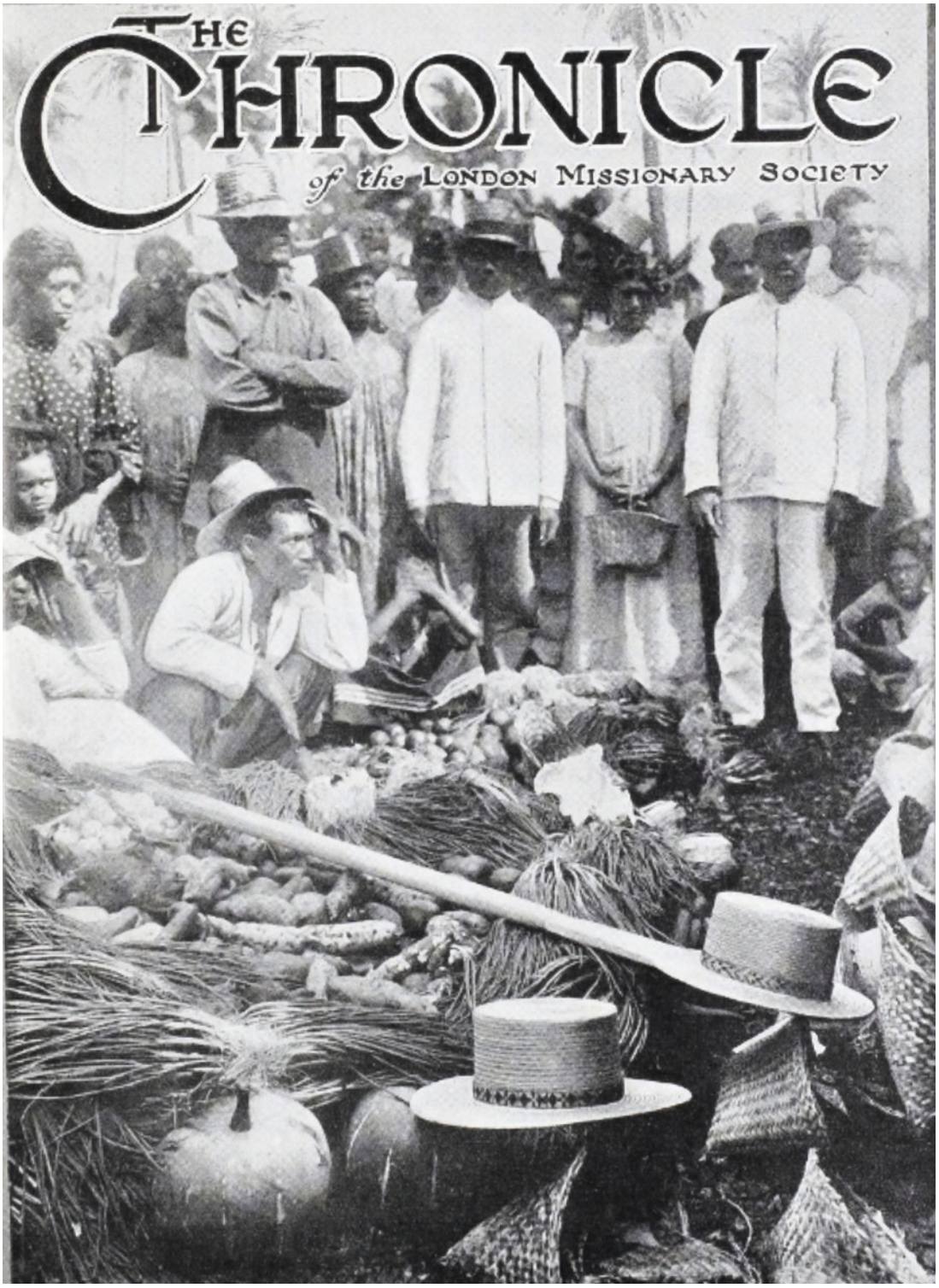
"Take good care of my two twin coconut trees at Taukea"

Papa Aratangi notes – "The word Nu-Manga has a symbolic meaning – that is, the relationship between the church and the government." [10]

In Numangatini's time, the 'government' of Mangaia comprised the six kavana and the ariki. Taukea was the place where the Minister's house was built in Oneroa, alongside which the ariki and kavana built their homes. The twin trees growing from one root or stem are the Aronga Mana and its tama'ū'ā, the Christian Church. [11]

Footnotes

[1] Raui Pokoati ('Papa Raui') from Mitiaro was orometua at Oneroa from 1943 - 7.
[2] Marshall, D. S. *Polynesian Journal, 1958*; 644-5, in D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus, Rarotonga.
[3] Moss,1894; 23
[4] Pokino Aberahama, 27 April, 1988, cited in Reilly, 2009; 89
[5] Harry, 1991; 13
[6] Aratangi, 1986; 38 - 9 and footnote.
[7] Marshall, D. S., *Polynesian Journal 1958*; 644 in D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus, Rarotonga.
[8] Aratangi, 1986; 75
[9] This final distribution of land was enshrined in the physical organization and decoration of the Mangaian churches – see Dixon, 2015
[10] Aratangi, 1986; 69
[11] According to Gerald McCormack (pers. comm., November 2023), "Forked coconut palms are very rare given how rarely they are found compared to the tremendous abundance of coconut palms. But many islands find one at some time or another. Usually they have one branch but I have seen a couple with 3 - 4 branches arising from the same point in Tongatapu and somewhere in the Tuamotu. The strangest of all branching coconuts was on Manihiki where one branched serially to make seven branches, of which three were alive when I recorded it in 1984. I have never come across another with several serial branches in the literature."



Cover photo of the Chronicle of the London Missionary Society, showing Mangaians with hats, baskets, paddles, and vegetables donated to raise funds for the Society's parent body in London.

Chapter 7

Life under Christianity

> *Great has been the compassion of our God. If he had not [been] compassionate ….we should still have been held bound in the strong hands of Satan the God of this world. If he had not sent his servants & his word to our land we should still be killing one another body and soul. Our darkness of heathenism would have been great and awful, but now we can say 'The people that sat in darkness have seen a great light' and now to Him who has blessed us with light, Blessings & glory & wisdom & thanksgiving & honour & power & might be unto our God for ever & ever Amen. – Speech of an Oneroa Deacon, 1846* [1]

The most significant change to Mangaian life following the introduction of the Gospel, was the settlement of all the Mangaian people, including the defeated of the final wars, onto productive taro lands, the abolition of warfare as a means of reallocating land and the creation of three church villages, Oneroa, Tamarua and Ivirua. Key to the maintenance of peace and the abolition of inter-tribal rivalries was the creation of the Aronga Mana as a unified governing body for the island, the redesignation of the pava or warriors as kavana or district governors, and the ariki's appointment as the head or chair of the Aronga Mana. William Wyatt Gill claims that the ariki position on Mangaia was something more – writing that "collective kingly authority were… vested by the conquering chiefs in Numangatini alone." [2]

The Mangaian historian, Mrs. Tereevangeria Aratangi believed that this transformation occurred around 1833 when the Rev. William Gill, on one his visits to the island, "formed a new structure... [that] accorded with the British one and placed the King at the top, with the Kavana and then the rangatira below... He gave Mangaia a structure that prevented Europeans establishing themselves on Mangaia... Te Aronga Mana was established by Kirimetua (William Gill)... (Reilly, 2009; 156)

Of all the benefits of the Gospel, peace was perhaps the most highly prized, illustrated by the prayer of Banaba, pava of Veitatei, (see facing page) in which he uses Mangaian allusions such as the drum of peace, the "black rocks of the makatea", and the "soft murmurings" of inland streams, to illustrate the benefits of the Gospel.

The priority placed by the mission on peace and brotherhood meant that solutions to problems once solved by force of arms, now had to be settled by consensus. As a consequence, warriors or

Banaba’s prayer

O Saviour! Thou art the King who beatest the pleasant drum of peace, who visitest everywhere. Thy realm who causest the fruits of the soil to grow. Thou art the ruling King, the girder of our loins, the roosting place of our souls, the tree on whose plenteous fruits like birds we feed. Thou art the well-thatched house, our calabash of living water, the refuge into which we run. It is on account of Thy wounds that we have every good. We exult in the blessedness of Thy reign. Once we were starving; Thou didst give to each a basket of food. Once we were as exiles perishing in the black rocks. Now Thou hast brought us to listen to the soft murmuring of living water. Ay, Thou did fetch us out of the barren rocks, where the fern was our only bed; perchance we were hiding from our foes behind the broad-leaf rock-fern. Maybe we were secreting in low bushes near the sea, sustaining life on pandanus fruit. Our sins and miseries were innumerable. But now, Lord Jesus Christ, we who were sometimes afar oft are made nigh by Thy most precious blood. When Thou didst appear on our behalf, we were being bruised and smitten by Satan, like the slain on a battle-field weltering in their blood. Such were the results of our own transgressions. Through Thy generosity we have become spiritually rich. Once we were starved ghosts; Thou has fattened us and made us men. We dwell in peace, ruled by Thee! Reign Thou for ever. [3]

“No one may sleep without fear …”

Numangatini, the aged king of Mangaia, once said to me [W. W. Gill] when very despondent, “Missionary, don't be anxious about me. As long as I breathe, I will cling to the Word of God. Until that was brought here, the heavens above were the only roof over me, as I hid myself night after night in the tall reeds or fern of the mountains through fear of being slain. Ere it was dark we, in those sad days, hastily despatched our evening meal, so as not to be over-taken by darkness ere a place of shelter and security had been provided for the night. On no account could I sleep in the same place two nights successively. Our wives and children alone slept in our homes, as they would not be slain. Now one may sleep without fear on the sandy beach, or in sequestered valley, or in one's own dwelling, and yet be unhurt. Brief were the intervals of peace; war and bloodshed the rule. [4]

pava no longer had a place in Mangaian life and were redesignated 'governors' or kavana. And without war and warriors, there was no longer an ua mangaia. Pangemiro faded from Mangaian history and after his death he was not replaced.

In the case of the ariki, Buck observes -

> Numangatini, by transferring his allegiance to Jehovah, could not carry out his duties to Rongo… Hence the priestly offices of ariki pa uta and ariki pa tai ceased to function. Though Numangatini bore the double title, the functions of publicly interceding with the gods for the welfare of food supplies, health and prosperity had been automatically transferred to Davida, the priest of Jehova… The hereditary priest of the tribal gods also joined the unemployed. The succession to priestly office no longer depended on patrilineal descent but rested on the choice of the London Missionary Society." [5]

> The title [ariki] … was shorn of all its ecclesiastical powers and retained but a shadow of its temporal power. It was a new title that could not be conferred in the ancient manner of installation. A modified form of installation was later devised. [6]

This left Numangatini in a significantly weakened position.

In 1843 while the missionary Maretu was in Rarotonga, Numangatini was deposed and Anakenga was proclaimed ariki with the support of Kaungaunga and Metuarutoa. Maretu writes that the "Manaune, Ngati Tane, and Te Amana [Ngati Vara] continued fighting against the lone tribe of Te Akatauira" [Ata and Numangatini]. Only Parima and Ata remained loyal to Numangatini. All this occurred "without the two missionaries [Pori and Rupe] uttering a word of protest. Hence it led to war." [7]

When the Rev. William Gill questioned one of the observers of these events, Daniela explained that the problem arose when the orometua Pori preached from the Second Book of Samuel 9:7 - "And David said unto him, Fear not: for I will surely shew thee kindness for Jonathan thy father's sake, and will restore thee all the land of Saul thy father; and thou shalt eat bread at my table continually."That was why Anakenga was elected ariki for he is a descendant of Rangi, the ancestral ariki at the time of the founding of Mangaia in ancient times." [8]

According to Kaungaunga, Anakenga was "the last of the descendants of Rangi, the man who raised the island but the missionaries have never said that it wasn't allowed. My friend and I merely heard the text the missionary preached about Saul returning to the ancestral table. The text was the reason we decided to elect a new ariki." [9]

Numangatini's speech, January 1870 [10]

Jesus said, 'I have overcome the world.' Yes, He had won a great victory. Look at this large and pleasant gathering. There was nothing like this in heathen times. Men women and children are here in Jehovah's marae; no women or child were ever permitted to take part in idol worship at our famous heathen maraes – at Orongo, at Araata [11], or at Maungaroa [12]. Only the great men might assemble at the marae; the common people, after depositing presents of food for their gods in the name of their chiefs, retired to a distance and waited until the ceremonies were concluded. And then how nicely you are all clothed to-day. There was no such clothing in heathenism. We all know what poor sort of stuff our best native dresses were made of. Our ancestors were always fighting. And what did they get by their continual wars? Famine invariably followed a long period of strife. I remember well when the entire population had to subsist upon candlenuts, sour 'nono' fruits, fern roots and various sorts of leaves found in the forest. Very many were starved to death. I have seen enough of Satan's reign. When quite a lad I went to the battle of Teatuapai, carrying a basket of stones to sling at the foe; and later, having attained to manhood, at the battle of Rangiura, I fought with a flat wooden sword. In the subsequent battle of Araeva, for the first time I wielded the long spear. I finished up my fighting then, for about that time the Gospel was brought to our shores. Ever since then I have held fast by the Word of God. This is my best and noblest employment.

Of the men of my generation only two beside myself survive. The grave is very near; I must soon enter it. Soon the earth will press down upon my face. Young people come nearer, come nearer, come nearer to the Word of God. Have I not seen all that the idols could do? Their day is over. Come, then, and fill up the places of the fathers who are one by one passing away. My children. I have one word to say to you all. When I am gone, take good heed of the Word of God. Do you chiefs, all of you, unite to make it grow. Let no evil spring up in your day. Take care of my missionary and the native pastors. Do you all, chiefs and people, receive into your hearts, and cherish the Word of God. Then you will prosper, body and soul.

Under pressure from Gill, Numangatini was restored to his ariki position and Anakenga was stood aside. This meant that the old ariki position – no longer pi'a atua to the old gods – became subservient to the Christian mission for its authority. As Numangatini and Parima explained to Maretu, "We just prayed to God to hurry you two [Gill and Maretu] along. Our prayers were answered. We were indeed lucky." [13] Over time, Numangatini's seniority and personal mana secured his position as ariki.

At the time of Numangatini's death, the Rev. G. A. Harris wrote –

> Being himself one of the Chief High Priests when Mangaia was still in heathenism and having from the very first embraced the Gospel and protected its advocates and its ministers through the long period of more than half a century and being the oldest living native of the island, he could not otherwise but possess a peculiar and wonderful power over the minds of his subjects. The six chiefs waited for his words as if from an oracle and his yea or nay immediately put an end to all strife, troubles and difficulties in connection with the land. He was a man of few words but it is very pleasing to remember that he always used his power and influence in the interests of the Gospel. Mangaia was truly cemented by him. He was the link that united all the great and minor chiefs of the island. [14]

To some extent unification of the six puna under the mission was made easier by the adoption of a shared single god, Jehovah, replacing the frequently warring tribal gods of earlier times. The dedication of individuals to the one God through Christian baptism replaced the pre-Christian dedication of children to their father or mother's tribal god.

The peace which followed the Gospel and the intermarriage between previously often hostile tribes also meant that the subdivision of the Mangaian people into ngati became increasingly less significant. Through intermarriage, all Mangaians became related, rather than, as formerly, members of potentially hostile tribes.

In 1870, Numangatini, in his eighties, reflected on the island's pre-Christian state, having participated in three battles, and survived a famine during Makitaka's rule -

> Our ancestors were always fighting. And what did they get by their continual wars? Famine invariably followed a long period of strife. I remember well when the entire population had to subsist upon candlenuts, sour 'nono' fruits, fern roots and various sorts of leaves found in the forest. Very many were starved to death. I have seen enough of Satan's reign… [15]

Numangatini went on to warn the chiefs –

Speech of a Tamarua elder, 1857

At a public service in Tamarua in 1857, one of the elders gave an address, comparing the Christian and pre-Christian eras.

"Brethren," he said, "I am an old man, but to-day I feel young again with joy; the darkness and distress of our heathen life are passed away - that season was indeed a dreary winter season, but it is past--we now have light, and joy, and peace; and I have been thinking of one of our prettiest heathen songs, which exhorted the people to be glad on the approach of spring; it is as follows:

The sky is bright, and the storms are o'er,
The bud and the fruit reward the sower;
The birds are singing, and the trees rejoice,
The winter is past; exalt your voice!

"This", continued the speaker, "was never properly fulfilled in heathenism, but it has now come to pass. This is a season of sunshine. Our storms are now blown leeward. The messengers of God now sing in the land. We have begun to eat the fruit of summer, and a rich harvest of knowledge and love yet awaits us. Let us rejoice!"

In concluding his remarks, he said, "But, my friends, in the midst of this joy I have a little trouble; we have not yet reached the heights to which we aspire, but we are still climbing upwards. Oh, let us not resemble those who, climbing up the hills, hold by the tufts of grass, and suddenly fall backwards. I mean, let us not merely hold on to the outward forms and bodily doings of Christianity, but let us hold to Christ Himself, and we shall be safe. [16]

> Do you chiefs, all of you, unite to make it [the Word of God] grow. Let no evil spring up in your day. Take care of my missionary and the native pastors. Do you all, chiefs and people, receive into your hearts, and cherish the Word of God. Then you will prosper, body and soul. [17]

As Numangatini noted in his speech (*see earlier*), everyone no matter how high or humble could worship in what he called “Jehovah’s marae” indicating that all were equal in the eyes of God. He contrasted this with the 'heathen' state where –

> Only the great men might assemble at the marae; the common people, after depositing presents of food for their gods in the name of their chiefs, retired to a distance and waited until the ceremonies were concluded.

At the ceremony to lay the foundation stone for the church at 'Ari'ari, an old man made a similar observation –

> The house of our idols were sacred to those whom we called gods, none could enter them, none could approach them, but this house is for the only true God and is the house where we may all come to worship and praise him. It is not for God only – it is also that men may be instructed and saved. [18]

In a letter dated 28 January 1829, Rev. John Williams attacked the idea of the ariki entering Church first as “a heathenish practice founded in their heathen notions – they look on a place of worship as they did on their Maraes and Canoes [as] very sacred and that the King is the person who must enter first to remove the great Sacredness [tapu] before other persons dare to go.” Instead, Williams encouraged the chiefs to “take his seat anywhere” no “one part of the Chapel being more sacred than another." [19]

The Congregational Church, from which the LMS originated, upholds belief in the individual's personal relationship with God - hence the emphasis placed by early missionaries on being able to read biblical texts in one's own language. Congregationalism also recognizes the role of the church and its community in supporting individuals to deepen their personal relationship with God. In this context, every person is deemed equally worthy of a place in the church and is encouraged to actively participate in the church's communal life.

Papa Aratangi writes that –

> The Christian religion introduced the two ideas of liberation and salvation. Political oppression, economic exploitation, social injustices and religious fear were very much

present in Mangaian history. From the perspective of the Christian believer, their faith set free those who were oppressed, exploited, enslaved, or living in a world of fear and hopelessness. [20]

Traditionally, as William Wyatt Gill observed, women had been "the slave to man in heathen society." [21] In the household division of labour, women undertook the planting of food, torch-fishing, cooking, child-rearing, the beating out the cloth to clothe the family, while the job of the man was to "defend land and life, to plant and weed and to fish with hook or net or spear." And as girls grew up, "all the duties of the mother are performed by the daughters…" [22]

To a large extent this situation continued under the Christian mission which considered women to be men's "help-meet." But women's subservience came under scrutiny and challenge. In 1845, Tuki Tia Vaine at the Ivirua mission complained of -

an evil practice among the men … some of whom have wives suitable for Teachers in the schools but they will not allow them to come because it is only the women who do the work at the land and cook the food, so that we are obliged to have men teachers over the girls classes. Some [women] also who joined the adult classes are beginning to draw backward. What are we to do? [23]

Meanwhile John Williams "stimulated by the eloquent representations and entreaties of the wife of the evangelist Faaruea… succeeded in obtaining for the native females a liberation from the servile work to which, during 'the reign of dark hearts' they had been doomed by their lordly oppressors." [24]

Girls and women attended school and women's circles were formed. The abolition of polygamy focussed the relationship of every man on one wife instead of many. Children who had

Villages	Church Members Male	Church Members Female	Total	Class Members Male	Class Members Female	Total
Oneroa	177	166	343	127	190	217
Tamarua	53	40	93	105	116	221
Ivirua	31	37	68	31	54	85
Total	261	243	504	263	360	523

Mangaia, 1845 Census extract, indicating women in almost equal numbers to men in church membership and exceeding men in school attendance

previously spent their days working in the fields or assisting with food gathering in the sea or lagoon, now spent at least 2 hours a day at school.

Yet, as late as 1873, as the Rev. George Harris observed –

> I find a great number of our women … unable to read and all such, excepting those advanced in years, […] to attend special elementary classes, only a few at present however have availed themselves of this privilege. I believe that much of this ignorance arises from the fact that the women of Mangaia have to do the laborious and demoralizing… work of planting, superintending and bringing home taro, the principal food of the land. Until this system (which is one of the remnants of heathen degradation) is abolished I am of the opinion that little improvement can be expected in their morals and education." [25]

"Freedom from fear and horror …."

Papa Aratangi writes that -

> In the past their [Mangaians] lives had been fearful, insecure, and meaningless. They could be killed at any moment. They knew about past injustices, oppression and exploitation, their lives filled with fear and horror. Could those who were liberated from the fear and horror of the past have accepted Christianity in order to survive? … The Mangaians in the past also experienced the fear and horror of their gods. When the gods were angry, sickness, death and social calamity brought fear and horror to the society. Human sacrifice was a horrible experience, but the demands of the gods had to be met. Perhaps these were some of the reasons the converts felt an obligation to liberate their people from the fear and horror of the past. [26]

The 'au o te evangeria' also meant that relationships and lines of communication between puna opened up with roads and bridges built to link the various church communities. By the time Rev. George Gill departed Mangaia in 1857 "An excellent road had been made around the island." (Gill, 1894; 338).

In 1886, work commenced on linking Tamarua and Oneroa by a coastal road. In January 1887, the Rev. G. A. Harris reported -

> One of the island chiefs [Ngariu] ...gathered together his people and exhorted them to begin to make an entire new road close to the seashore reaching from Tamarua to Oneroa, a distance of five miles...a gigantic piece of work.

Mangaia’s old road system

> In former days… the people lived on the lower portions of slopes or in the valleys which radiate out from Rangimotia. The Makatea was practically deserted and was crossed by comparatively few paths, from which the natives seem to have strayed but seldom. There were no permanent settlements on the shore terraces, though there were huts which were used by fishing parties. When traveling from one village to another, the general practice was to follow up one of the volcanic spurs to Rangimotia and then descend another spur - the most practicable route when the villages were far apart as it did not involve passage through settlements which might be hostile. [27]

Using fire to make new public roads, 1856

The Rev. William Wyatt Gill writes -

> Some months since, Mr. G. Gill and myself determined to induce, if possible, the native authorities to improve and put into thorough repair the public roads throughout the island. On account of the peculiarly rocky soil of Mangaia, this was no easy task. At the close of September, the entire population turned out for this purpose, with the greatest cheerfulness. The men wielded heavy hammers: the women and children carried firewood, for the purpose of thoroughly heating the points of solid rock everywhere projecting above the surface of the soil. When cool the largest rocks would crack, and easily yield to the blows of the hammer. In the district under my care [Tamarua] as indeed has been the case all over the island, the roads are very greatly improved. A small bridge has been completed. But by far the heaviest work has been a causeway built of solid stone, connecting together the upper and lower portions of this settlement. It is 170 feet long, 33 feet wide, and 15 feet high in the centre. As we do not possess the means of blasting rocks, it was very difficult to obtain the vast amount of stone required for this work. The convenience is daily felt by our people, as they come to the house of God and to the schools. This public work occupied altogether nearly two months. [28]

Given the size of the job, Harris asked the Oneroa church members to help, using the Bible passage "I am the way."

> The three distinct tribal parties of this village [Oneroa] rose up as one man and went to help make the road. As the road had to be cut through rock and thick forest trees, and was to measure 15 feet wide for nearly 5 miles, you can understand when I say no such piece of work has ben accomplished like it since the introduction of the Gospel.

According to a Tamaruan account, “the workers from Oneroa and Tamarua met at Te ara Tamanga. It was at Tearatoirau where the Tamaruans were challenged by a man from Ivirua that they would not complete the road.” [29] “Ka oi te taiki ate taurearea, a tu oa te tara a Manoa e, ka oti me are e oti.” The road opened in January, 1887.

With the translation of the Bible into Rarotongan, Rev. William Wyatt Gill (1894; 353) reported

> The Bible is read, studied and quoted by the Polynesians of today in place of the heathen songs and myths of bygone ages. In fact, it is moulding the lives and characters of the entire race.

The new art of writing was used by Mamae (Sadaraka) to record the genealogy of the Ngati Vara and the history of warfare on the island, at the same time assisting Rev. William Wyatt Gill and Tereavai in the writing of *Life in the Southern Isles*, *Darkness to Light* and *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*.

Rev. William Gill noted that, “Subsequent to the formation of the church [in 1834] a code of civil law was adopted by the Chiefs of the island for the protection of life and property.” [30] (This may have been one of the first acts of the new Aronga Mana structure described above by Mrs.Tereevangeria Aratangi). The laws sought to outlaw certain behaviour, specifically murder, fornication, adultery, rape, alcohol consumption, theft, assault, spousal desertion, pregnancy out-of-wedlock, gambling, tattooing love-marks, sabbath non-observance, swearing, taking women inland, procuring, and bearing false witness. Additional laws concerned matters such as animal trespass, arson, firing the bush, horse stealing, trading with Europeans, wounding animals or birds, lost goods and assaulting police or government officers. These laws were administered by a Chief Judge who oversaw judges in each of the three villages and a police force comprising church elders and deacons, eventually equal to 1 in 12 of the population. [31]

Throughout the mission period, laws relating to land and succession were excluded from the Mangaian civil code [32] other than “disputed boundaries” where the law stated “The Judge shall inspect the land and decide. If the disputants still fight, they shall be fined $20 each—

“A new day….”

Speech of an old man at Tamarua, 4 August 1841

> An old man, once a heathen warrior, but now a true Christian, said "This is a new day, the like of which we or our fathers have never seen, a day of great love; yes, God has loved us, and we love one another. Formerly, during Satan's reign, we prepared food, and were weary with carrying it to our idols, where we left it to rot, without advantage to ourselves or others; but to-day our own mouths have eaten what our hands have prepared. Formerly, the children were kept at home to take care of our lands, and the women ate food after the men were satisfied; but to-day we have all met, not afraid to leave our lands, nor ashamed to look at our wives; and now, you, our children, look at this new school-house, built on purpose for you. Let us, adults, hold fast that which is good; do not let the children have any excuse on our account. And you, children, see that you regard well your instruction.[33]

The fruit of knowledge

In 1845, one of the speakers at the laying of the foundation stone for the church at 'Ari'ari was reported by Rev. George Gill as saying –

> Formerly we had nothing, but old & weak houses made of the common reed, after that we were taught to make them of wood & after that we were taught to build them with wood & plaster but now we can work and build with stone. This is the fruit of knowledge. The house of our idols was sacred to those whom we called Gods – none could enter them, none could approach them, but this house is for the only true God & is the house where we may all come to worship & praise him. Is it not for God only, it is also that men may be instructed and saved [34]

The abolition of tattoing

Rev. William Gill writes -

> Among the many laws made by the people of Mangaia; the one prohibiting tattooing was the occasion of more trouble and annoyance to the police than any other. The natives of this island more generally practised this art, and were more proficient in its execution, than those on the other islands of the group.
>
> We had frequently questioned the propriety of imposing a penalty on its practice; not that we thought its continuance desirable, but from an opinion that the individual who tattoed himself committed no public wrong, and that a just sense of propriety induced by a continued course of proper education, would in time do away with the custom.
>
> The native authorities, however, who knew the nature and design of the practice, were determined to attach a severe fine to its execution, which occasioned a large majority of the young men of the island to be brought into the criminal court, before the age of twenty; which doubtless did as much, or even more injury to their moral feelings, than the act for which they were judged.
>
> Thus in this, and many other things of which the native code of civil law takes cognizance, the missionary on those islands often finds great opposition in his advice to secure prudence and moderation, and much difficulty in showing the people the difference between rules for the exercise of discipline in the church, and laws for the establishment of order and morality, in a general and mixed population: hence the caution necessary in advising tribes just emerging from heathenism about the adoption and enforcement of civil law, lest in some cases they increase and perpetuate the very crimes which they desire to subdue. [35]

namely, $4 cash and $16 trade." In practice, most issues of disputed boundaries were handled by the Aronga Mana at rangatira and kavana level.

An exception to the authority of the Aronga Mana was land allocated to the Church for the establishment of the three Christian villages in the puna Keia, Ivirua/Karanga and Tamarua– that is, "settlement land" or land within the taura Evangeria (the boundaries of the Church village). Land within the taura Evangeria was subject to 'akono'anga 'oire or village custom established during the early mission period, according to which "it was understood and probably stated in so many words, that these owners [the rangatira and pava] would never interfere so long as their lands were used *for residence only*… and this applies to all lands within the village without exception... [36]

Under 'akono'anga 'oire, a family could live rent-free on their village block, close to the Church and Christian schools for as long as they maintained unbroken occupancy. If occupancy was discontinued, for example through death without issue, the land was either redistributed or returned to the original owners (in the ease of Oneroa, the puna Keia). As Kotukutea explained to a Land Court sitting on Mangaia in 1934 - "The 'akano'anga 'oire never intended that one person should become possessed of more than one holding, nor that the descendants should accumulate holdings of deceased relations; but its intention was rather that when a holding becomes vacant, it should revert to the mataiapo [pava] of the tapere to be held in trust by him until it could be given to some landless person." [37]

Up until 1888, foreign traders were prevented by local law from residing on Mangaia or operating a store, with one or two exceptions including the Corsican Joseph Agostini who married into the Muraa'i pava family of Keia. [38] All trading had, to this point, been controlled at a central Market House, where prices and transactions were closely regulated. Because 'oire lands were dedicated to the Evangeria their use for commercial purposes was precluded under 'akono'anga 'oire.

Footnotes

[1] *"Speech of Deacon of the Native Church, Oneroa, Mangaia"* (transcribed by Rev. George Gill), 1 January 1846, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A
[2] W.W. Gill, 1890; 636
[3] Gill, 1876; 155-6
[4] Gill, 1894; 378 - 379
[5] Buck/Hiroa, 1993; 25

[6] Buck/Hiroa, 1993; 27
[7] Maretu, 1983; 146
[8] Maretu, 1983; 145
[9] Maretu, 1983; 146
[10] *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine (and Annual),* Volumes 33 - 34 1876; 168 - 171
11] The marae Ara'ata in Keia was dedicated to the Ngariki god Motoro. According to Bellwood, "The site is on a slope just above the Keia taro swamp, and there is still a trace of a buried terrace and a single block of coral." (Bellwood, 1978; 161).
[12] The marae Maungaroa in Tamarua was dedicated to the Ngati Tane god Tanekio. Bellwood describes Maungaroa as a "well-preserved marae... built on a man-made terrace cut into and built out of a steep slope." He provides a detailed description and site plan (Bellwood, 1978; 146 - 7).
[13] Maretu, 1983; 146
[14] Rev. G. A. Harris, 5 June 1879, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 5, Jacket B
[15] *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine (and Annual),* Volumes 33 - 34 1876; 168 - 171
[16] Gill, 1880; 171
[17] *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine (and Annual),* Volumes 33 - 34 1876; 168 - 171
[18] Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D
[19] Rev. John Williams, 26 January 1829, SOAS, SSL, Box 7, Folder 1, Jacket B. In the Cook Islands, Titikaveka Church is the only church that retains the practice of the ariki finding a place anywhere in the congregation.
[20] Aratangi, 1996; 87-88
[21] Gill, 1890b, "Mangaia (Hervey Islands)," in *Report of the Australasian Society for the Advancement of Science*, Melbourne, pp. 332 -333
[22] Gill, 1890b; 332 -333
[23] Tuki's appeal transcribed by Rev. William Gill, 18 April 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket B
[24] Prout, 1843; 312
[25] Rev. G.A. Harris, 2 April 1873, SOAS, South Seas Reports Box 1, 1866 - 1880
[26] Aratangi, 1996; 89
[27] Marshall, 1927; 6
[28] Rev. William Wyatt Gill, 4 January 1856. Letter published in *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, 1 October 1856, p. 220
[29] Tetangi Matapo M.P. personal communication, 2022.
[30] Gill, 1876; 102
[31] Moss to Onslow 31 August 1891, *Federation and Annexation: Pacific Islands. Proceedings of the British Resident, Rarotonga*, AJHR, 1892, A—3; 8. "These police number 155—about one to every twelve of the whole population. Their qualification is church-membership, and this night duty is done by detachments selected weekly. They are under no control, and investigate

charges upon which they practically decide, as the Judge generally accepts their statement without question. They are also the prosecutors, and, to crown the system, the police and the Judges alike depend for their pay upon the fines they levy, which are divided weekly among the detachment for that week. No records are kept; and manifestly under such a system very great abuses become possible. Statements of the most shocking cruelty practised upon prisoners to make them criminate themselves and of very immoral proceedings on the part of the police themselves, are to be heard from very credible people." "At Mangaia church-membership is an indispensable qualification for public life, from the King to the Policeman. All church-members are also ex officio 'Policemen' (more properly, elders and deaeons), and responsible for the due observance of the law. The officials thus comprise a large number of the adult male population. Their pay depends entirely on the fines levied for offences, the fines being divided among them. Originally these offences were breaches of moral law or of church discipline. To them are now added offences of a purely secular character, but the old penalty, suspension of church-membership 'for breaking the law' still follows the fine. The suspension is regarded as a grave discredit by both Chiefs and people, deprives the suspended of all civil privileges, and isolates him." (British Resident, Frederick Moss No 7, NZPP, AJHR 1891, A-3; 3)

[32] "They [the Mission] formed a code of laws but did not attempt to embody in them any of the Maori usages with reference to land and inheritance." Moss to Onslow, 9 September 1893, *Federation and Annexation: Pacific Islands. Proceedings of the British Resident, Rarotonga*, AJHR, Session I, 1894. A.—3; 7

[33] Gill, 1880; 104

[34] Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1845, SOAS, SSL. Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D

[35] Gill, 1856; 166 - 7

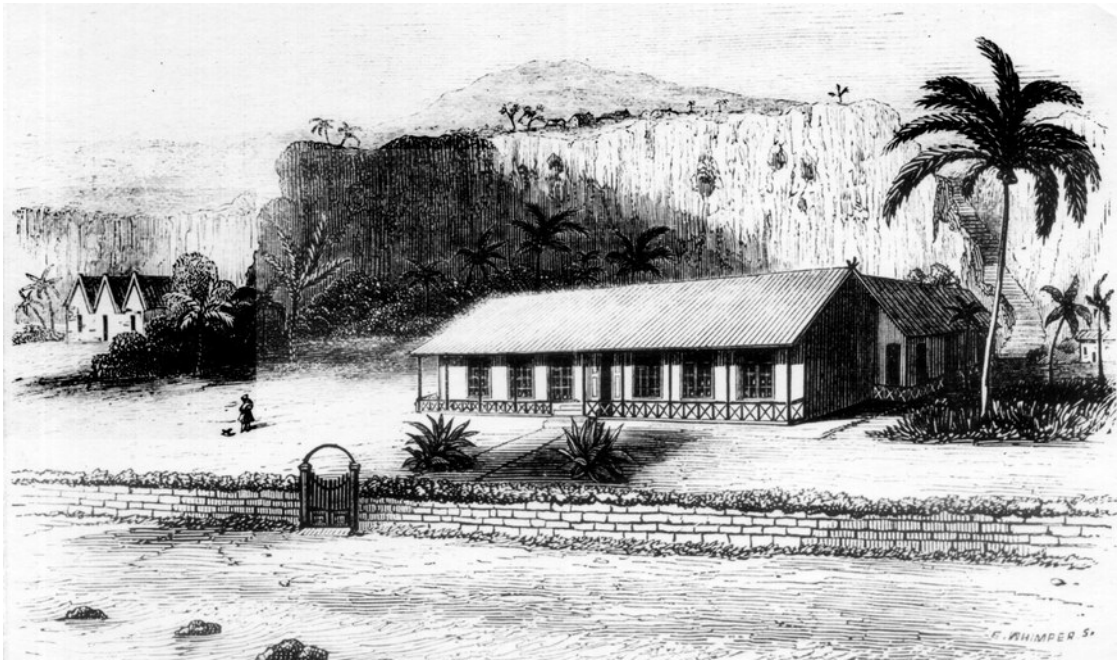
[36] Mangaian Resident Agent, Jock Cameron to Resident Commissioner Gudgeon, Rarotonga, 17 April 1910, Cook Islands Archives, *emphasis added.*

[37] Evidence of Kotukutea, Land Court Minute Book, 30 August, 1934

[38] It is signifieant that Agostini's trade store was initially located well outside Oneroa village, at Kumukumu between Tavaenga and Ivirua and therefore not subject to the land laws of 'akano'anga 'oire. William Gill referring to the island in 1845 noted "Mangaia had been frequently visited by foreigners, some of whom had taken up a temporary abode there; none, however, had permanently resided on the island, except one Frenchman [Agostini] and an American; these had married, and had condueted themselves with propriety. Two or three others had also married, but after a time they had left their wives and families, which had occasioned no little trouble to the people. Hence the authorities, as at Rarotonga, made a law to prohibit marriage of native females to foreigners, and also the sale of land." (Gill,1880; 170).

Salema e Punanga
the Church at Oneroa

The oval ended Maison communale (Fare hau) de Tautira, late 19th century, showing the rounded ends common in Tahitian buildings and featured in Oneroa's 1830 church (source - Henri Vernier, 1985, "Au Vent des cyclones et de l'Eglise Evangelique a Tahiti et en Polynesie Francaise, Papeete, Les Bergers et les Mages, p.73



Mission House, Mangaia. The three roofed church built at Oneroa and opened 1849 on the beach site can been seen on the left (from William Gill, Gems from the Coral Islands, 1855;147).

Chapter 8

The Oneroa Church

The 1824 church at ‘Akaoro

It is generally accepted that Davida and Tiere, on their arrival over the reef on 15 June 1824 were “taken by the hand by Numangatini” [1] to the marae O Rongo on the beach, where Numangatini had officiated as ariki pa tai. They were then taken inland to Keia to the marae ‘Akaoro at which Numangatini officiated as ariki pa uta.

According to William Wyatt Gill (1876; 92)

> A reed hut was now built for the use of the teachers; and a rude hut for worship and daily teaching. The site was the enclosure where human sacrifices were first exposed [*Akaoro marae*].

The 1824/5 church at ‘Akarangi

The site of the second church is generally agreed to have been at ‘Akarangi close to the inland face of the makatea at Keia. By some accounts ‘Akarangi was the house site of Pangemiro. The foundation of the ‘Akarangi church can still be seen.

Papa Tiriamai says that the missionaries had three residences inland, at three separate *marae* - initially at Marae'ara [2], then at Akaoro [3], then Itikau [4] in Keia. Rupetau has also been mentioned as a possible site for one of the early inland churches. In any case, Davida and Tiere’s stay in the inland was brief for sometime between 1824 and prior to the visit of the Rev. Robert Bourne in September, 1825, Davida had relocated his residence and that of other Christian converts (“those who had been baptized”) to a location “near the sea” at Oneroa (Gill, 1894; 73).

The 1825 church on the beach

Evidence for the location of a third church and its timeline comes from William Wyatt Gill

writing in 1876 – “At length Davida [5] found himself strong enough to form a Christian village near the sea, where a good site could easily be obtained for the erection of a larger church and school house. This had been originally suggested by Rev. J. Williams. The new village was called ‘God’s town.’ At that period its rocky shore was covered with large ironwood and other trees” (Gill, 1876; 94). In the timeline suggested by Wyatt Gill, the church on the beach was built sometime before September 1825 (Gill, 1876; 95).

This is confirmed by the Rev. Robert Bourne from Taha’a, who was Davida and Tiere’s pastor, and visited the two teachers on Mangaia in September 1825 (although, by this stage, Tiere was already dead). In the record of his visit, Bourne refers to a "house of worship" which accords with Gill's timeline of a church built upon the shore prior to September 1825. [6]

The Rev. George Platt visited Mangaia in January 1830 and the Rev. John Williams visited in May 1830 but neither make any specific reference to a church building though Williams does describe officiating, on 31 May 1830, at “a publick service with the people who Profess Christianity. Mr. Williams preached to them from 1 Tim. 1-15. The Congregation was between five and six Hundred many of the unbelievers having come also on so novel an occasion” (Moyle, 1984; 26). As well as the preaching there were all the other elements of a church service observed.

The next morning, 1 June 1830, they “went to see the School where about three hundred children were learning the Assembly’s catechism.” The existence of a school building suggests the existence of a Church, the latter usually being given first importance. The location of the village comprising the Evangelists and converts’ houses is mentioned by Williams (1830) as follows – “[I] could not but admire the pleasant situation chosen for a Settlement, a sloping hill rising gradually from the sea. The houses are placed in rows length ways along the side of the mountain [makatea]… In the midst of the settlement a very good road had been made on each side of which in most places houses were erected. The length appeared full three quarters of a mile” (Moyle, 1984; 25).This sounds like Oneroa and a beachside location. [7]

The 1830 oval-ended church on the beach

When Williams next visited Mangaia in May 1831, a new church had been built at Oneroa replacing Davida and Tiere’s 1825 beach-side construction. In his book *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* John Williams writes -

> When I next visited Mangaia, in 1831, I was accompanied by my excellent brother Mr. Buzacott, and Makea, the king of Rarotonga. We found that *a large new place of worship had*

> *been erected*, and that the people were anxiously waiting for us to open it. It was a fine building, of an oval shape, about one hundred and twenty feet in length. The large posts which supported the roof, eight in number, the ridge pole, and the rafters, were most beautifully carved, and tastefully coloured with various native preparations. It is impossible, however, so to describe them as to enable the reader to form a correct idea of their appearance, or of the taste and ingenuity displayed in their execution. These posts are twenty-five feet high, and from twelve to eighteen inches square ; and when we consider the tools with which the work was done, which were principally old nails, pieces of iron hoop, and a few chisels, the hardness of the wood, and the depth of the carving, we were amazed both at the patience and skill of the native artificers. The effect, on entering the place, was exceedingly striking. On the following day, a congregation assembled to the number of fifteen or sixteen hundred persons… (Williams, 1838; 248-50).

According to Tyerman and Bennett, Tiere had died after 15 months on Mangaia around 1826.[8] He was replaced in 1830 by Vaaeruea [9] [Faaruea]. It is probable that the construction of the church was overseen by Davida [from Tahaa], Vaaeruea [from Raiatea] and Numangatini. The oval shape and the long form of the church suggest Tahitian influences in keeping with the Society Islands origins of the two Evangelists.

1834 – rebuilding the beach church and formation of the first church body

In July 1834, Rev. Charles Barff, stationed at Huahine, visited Mangaia and on 16 July 1834 formed the first ‘church’ of 12 members. Arriving over the reef, Barff and his family were carried in their canoe for a “the distance of ¼ of a mile to Davida’s house, [the people] almost frantic with joy. Mrs. Barff, Louisa, etc being the first European females they had ever seen.”

Barff describes a schoolhouse “which the teachers use as a chapel while the Chapel is rebuilding” noting “the people were employed in rebuilding their very fine Chapel which had been thrown down by a tremendous gale of wind.” [10]

Davida and Vaaeruea informed Barff that, at John Williams’ suggestion, a number of the converts had been privately instructed preparatory to communion “but deeming it prudent to act with caution in the beginning, only 12 were selected and united in Church fellowship with the native teachers and their wives.” Later that day Barff “administered the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper to the newly formed Church. And it was the first time the ordinance had been administered at Mangaia…” [11]

This was the official formation of the Church at Mangaia.

In 1846, a deacon of the Oneroa church, in a speech, confirmed -

> The Chapel which Williamu saw had been blown down by strong winds and we had built anther chapel this is the chapel in which we are now met this day. When Mr Pitman came we opened this chapel. [12]

Rev. Charles Pitman visited Mangaia on 4 June 1835 on his way from Rarotonga to Tahiti. In his Journal he noted that the Oneroa chapel was "100 feet long, neatly wattled and plastered. Between 30 - 40 feet in width. It has an arched roof very much resembling some of our cathedrals." [13] He reported, in a letter dated 25 June 1835 -

> The [Oneroa] Chapel is a fine building. On entering the door, I was really amazed. A row of [7] posts run through the centre of the Chapel supporting the ridge pole, four other rows of posts of smaller dimensions sustained the roof of the Chapel, all of which with the ridge pole & every rafter in the building were covered with carved work neatly secured by cinnet which entirely concealed the posts &c from view. The form of the roof reminded me of our ancient Cathedrals. The work, tho' roughly executed, is literally a curiosity. [14]

> It cost them two years labour. I much regret, however, to state that during that period, no attention has been paid to schools, either for adults or children. I advised the Teachers to commence immediately & if possible, never to let any publick work hinder the instruction of the people… [15]

Pitman's comment that the new church had "cost them two years labour" suggests a construction period of 1833 (following the 1831 hurricane) to early 1835.

That same year, the Oneroa church was visited and described by the Englishman Conrad Martens. Martens was an artist who had accompanied Charles Darwin on the *Beagle*, sketching animals and nature in South America. He left the *Beagle* at Valparaiso and made his way across the Pacific, making a brief stop at Mangaia in 1835.

After a meal with the 'chief', Martens was given a tour of the Oneroa church. His description of the church is significant in recording the elaborate carving of the church's beams, rafter and wall plates, and their decoration "with a curious mixture of black and white lines."

Martens describes the church as "a singular specimen of the skill and persevering industry of the natives. It is 140 feet in length, the roof supported by three rows of pillars, every one of which,

together with the beams, rafters, wallplate, in short every piece of wood that was visible, being carved most minutely, and afterwards painted with a curious mixture of black and white lines; the whole having been begun and finished in little more than four months." [16]

Martens believed the black and white lines decorating the beams, rafters and wall plates, had been hand painted. A number of contemporary writers, such as the Rev. William Gill, write of "the numberless rafters of the [church] roof, each neatly coloured with native paint." But, there is a possibility that the black and white lines on the rafters might have consisted of "many thousands of yards of fine yellow cinnet ... As the timbers are first blackened with a native dye, the various plaited patterns show off to great advantage" (Gill, 1876: 54) – that is, yellow sennit on a blackened timber background.

Six months after Marten's visit, the Revs. George Platt and Charles Wilson preached in this church. Platt describes it as follows -

> The place of worship, which is new, was opened by Mr. Pitman on his voyage up to Tahiti [in early 1835]. It is very tastefully ornamented with their method of carving and painting. At a distance sufficient to hide the roughness of the work it looks not unlike the frieze work of our old Gothic churches. And actually looks rich, so effectually is the eye deceived. [17]

In. June 1841 Rev. and Mrs. William Gill visited Mangaia for 3 months. A second gallery had been added to the Oneora chapel and a school house ("10 long and six wide") of timber covered with lime had been built at Oneroa (Maretu, 1983; 131).

In *Gems from the Coral Isles* (1856;140) Gill describes the Oneroa church in 1841 as "a lime and wattle building, 130 foot long, 38 feet wide, walls 14 foot high. Looking at it as the work of the natives it was the wonder and admiration of all who visited the island. The numberless rafters of the roof each neatly coloured with native paint were supported by 12 or 14 pillars of the finest wood which were carved in cathedral style. " Gill says that when he preached in the church "there could not have been fewer than 2,000 persons present." (1856; 140). This appears to be the same church opened by Pitman in 1835.

Mrs. Gill also provides a description of the church on her 1841 visit.

> The chapel is very long, and narrow, about 126 feet by 36 feet; the sides are very low, but the roof is lofty; the centre is supported by eighteen large pillars, and other smaller ones, ingeniously carved, which look exceedingly beautiful, and show great industry on the part of the natives. [18]

The architect Jeanette Budgett has developed a speculative floor plan of the 1835 Oneroa church and suggests that “The three rows of pillars that Martens refers to are likely to be the central posts and two rows of side posts in the side walls.” [19] Maretu writes that on William Gill’s first visit to Mangaia in 1841, Gill “said that a second gallery should be built at one end of the church so that everyone could be accommodated comfortably” (Maretu 1983; 131, Gill, 1856; 149). Budgett suggests that adding end galleries confirms that the 1830 oval church had now been replaced by a rectangular building [the 1835 church].

Confirmation of beach location

The location of the 1830 - 1846 church on the beach is confirmed by -

1. Rev. George Gill’s letter of 10 October 1845 where he writes –

> At Oneroa more than half of the population live on top of the elevated ground [makatea]. At present the chapel and schoolhouse *are below near the sea*. Many reasons have led us to conclude that the elevation is the better locality [for a new church]. [20]

2. George Gill’s report of the 1846 hurricane, in which he describes his experience of the storm -

> I had left the tree where I was standing to take my position at another whence I could command a longer view of the village. I observed the sea again rushing upon the shore and with it came a stronger gust than we had yet felt; the very land seemed to shake. Seven large houses fell, with the schoolhouse *and the old Chapel which was more than 120 feet long and 36 feet wide.* [21]

‘Punanga’ - the 1845 church on the makatea with two roofs

"Go up to the mountains and bring wood and build the temple,
that I may take pleasure in it and be glorified,” says the Lord. (Haggai, 1:8)

On 27 August 1845, months before a cyclone destroyed the old church on the beach, a Foundation stone was laid by Numangatini for a new stone Chapel on the makatea and work was commenced on the site. The new church was expected to open in May 1846. Ma’arona kavana claims the site was at Pukamaru. [22] But the site was more likely at 'Ari’ari.

A letter to London from Rev. George Gill, dated 10 October 1845, noted – "Building stone chapel on makatea. At foundation ceremony an old man contrasts this to the old god houses." [23]

In his book *Gems from the Coral Islands*, the Rev. William Gill writes –

> 27 August, 1845 - Public Services on the site of the new chapel - upwards of 2,000 persons present. Brother George [Gill] gave out a hymn; I [William Gill] read a portion of scripture; Maretu engaged in prayer after which I gave an address. The foundation-stone, in which were placed native books and writings respecting circumstances and date of the building, was then laid by Numangatini, the chief of the island (Gill, 1856;180).

In a letter to the Directors of the LMS in London, Rev. George Gill writes -

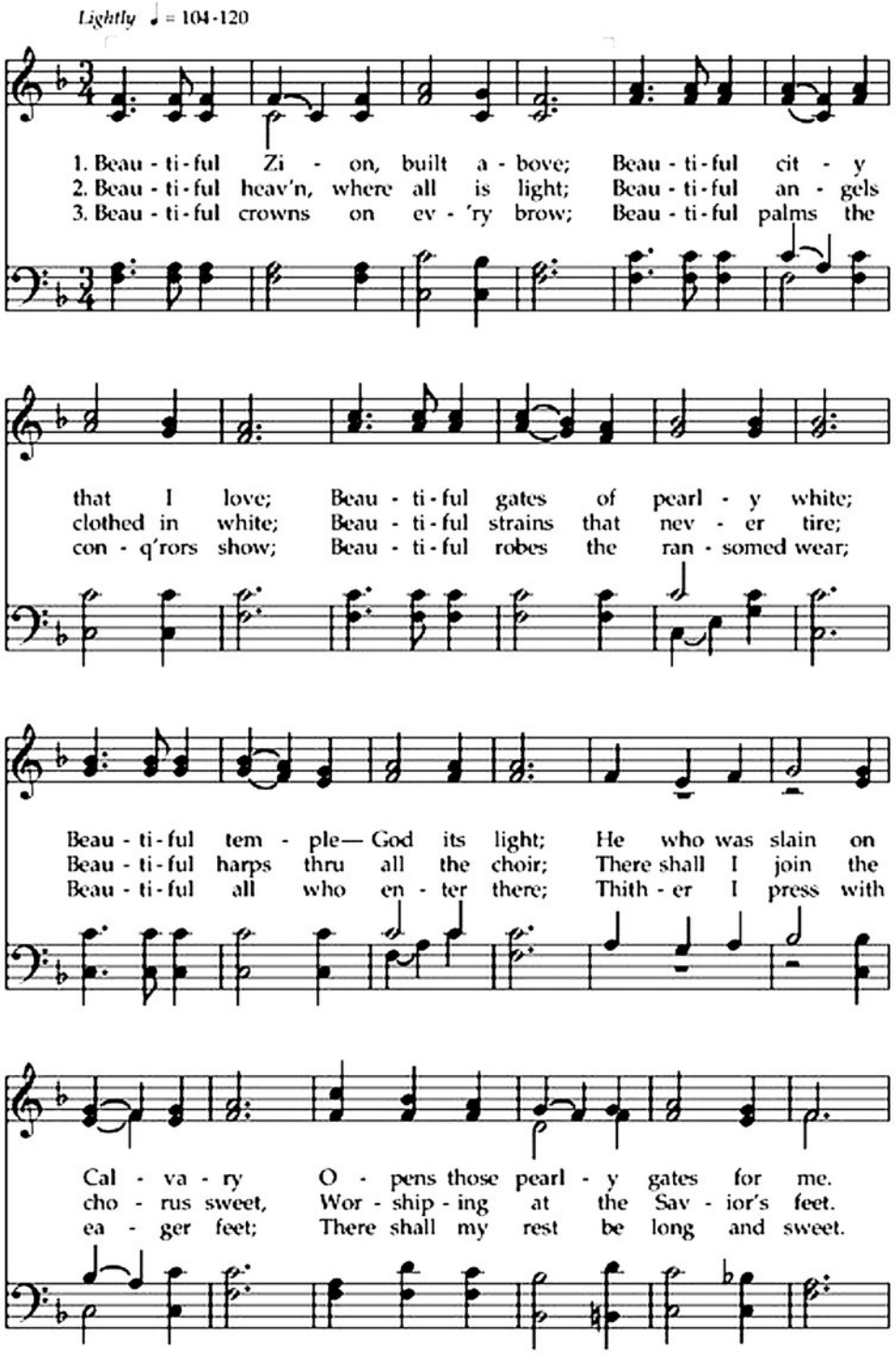
> A document setting forth the nature of the building, signed by the chiefs, the governors, the native teachers, the deacons & ourselves was put in a bottle & enclosed in the first stone which was laid in the proper position by Numangatini the chief & Ata one of the Governors. [24]

Writing in 1846, George Gill, noted that the old Chapel had been in a poor condition and the people were anxious to raise another. George and William Gill supervised the work. According to George Gill –

> I found the work of building not only novel employment but rather heavy and anxious but by patience have been enabled to succeed. The whole work has been executed by the natives under my constant teaching and superintendence… The new building is of stone 90ft long & 60ft wide, the walls are 2 ft thick & 24 ft high. It is nearly finished and we fully expect to open it in the month of May when we shall hope to hold our Missionarys Meeting upon the same date of your anniversary in London... I have erected a model of it for the Museum & will forward it to you on return of the John Williams…God grant that of this hill of Zion it may be said "Many were born here." The Chapel is to be designated "Barbican"… This name therefore is fixed upon the gable ends of the building with a native word "Punanga" which corresponds in meaning to the English name "Barbican." [25]

In England, William and George Gill had been closely linked to the Barbican Chapel in Shoreditch, London. George Gill was very keen for the new Oneroa church to be not only named after the London Barbican Chapel but to resemble it in the arrangement of the church interior. He drew the plans for the church accordingly.

44 Beautiful Zion, Built Above



Hymn written by Rev. George Gill, inspired by the church Punanga, built above (on the makatea at 'Ari'ari) and Revelation 2 ;2 and 21-23 " And I... saw the holy city".

> I was anxious that the interior so far as the pews are concerned should as near as possible resemble those of Barbican Chapel, and I hope when completed to designate it Barbican by a native word signifying the same. The building is 90 ft. by 61 with galleries in the sides and front. The walls are 26 foot high & with two roofs, woods being small and scarce…[26]

The new church was accordingly called 'Punanga' – 'Barbican' or 'Fortress'. 'Ko Iehova toku punanga' – 'The Lord is my fortress.' (Psalm 18:2)

In a letter to the Missionary Society headquarters in London, the Mangaian church wrote –

> E kua tapaia tona ignoa ko Punanga no te mea e ignoa tau meitaku e kua kitea i roto i te tuatua n ate Atua. E kua akakite Gili, to matou orometua, i te ingoa o tokotou ana pure na Barbacan, e te aite anga o taua ingoa ra i to matou reo, ko Punanga, koia rai te tuatua a Davida "Ko Jehova taku punanga.' Kua pena matou kua rekareka matou ia Jehova to tatou punanga.
>
> *We have designated it by the name "Punanga" because it is a name found in, and suitable to, the Word of God. And Mr. Gill our teacher has made known to us the name and meaning of the name of our chapel which is Barbican and the meaning of that in our language is "Punanga" a fort. Truly did David say, "The Lord is my fortress" and thus do we rejoice in Jehova as our fortress*. [27]

Rev. George Gill described the new church as follows -

> The situation of the chapel is upon the elevate rock or girdle of stone which surrounds the whole island [the makatea] about 100 ft above the level of the sea and in many parts 1 ½ miles wide… The stones were collected and heaped below, the labour to convey them above is very great but the people have worked diligently & cheerfully. The children with their parents have been engaged in bringing the lime and sand and stones from sunrise to sunset. The ascent is extremely difficult and, in many places, dangerous. The walls are completed from the foundation and 3 ft upwards, they are 3 ft thick, from then to the elevation 2 ft thick. The windows are nearly completed, and the roofs are in progress. [28]

Maretu, (1983; 152-3) adds some details and confirms the makatea site.

> On Monday, 3 August [1845] we laid the foundation of the stone church. The specialist carpenters and Gill fixed the timber for the building, and the windows and doors. Gill and I and all the people helped build the walls. After two days the walls were completed leaving the thatch work for Ivirua's two groups. Seven men were responsible for the thatching. The

Oneroa Mission House with pandanus roofing in 1899, (Mrs J. H. Cullen and class) and with an iron roof in 1954 (D. S. Marshall Collection)

> purlins were thrown up until the whole area was completed. Ivirua's share remains to be done. On Monday I asked the people of the two sub-districts [Keia and Veitatei] to complete Ivirua's two sections of the wall so that the whole house could be thatched before the arrival of the mission ship, but they refused. So I told the two leaders of the women and they agreed to do it. The men got angry and said they would never let women do their work. The women then stepped outside and began hauling rocks to the makatea, to the site of the building. The women only took two trips each and they were able to collect the required amount of rock. Then the ariki restrained me and said, "What about Keia and Veitatei building the two sections of the wall? They'll soon finish it. Go and send the women home. We'll build it. We're ashamed because you gave the work to the women. I told Gill what the ariki said. He agreed, so he and I told the women to go home. The men came to build and when it was completed they hoisted up the ridge pole and placed rafters and purlins on. The next morning they placed the thatch holders (kao) on, and thatched it with pandanus all the way round. The windows and doors were fixed all round. Three weeks later lime was plastered on while the skilled craftsmen gave finishing touches to all the windows, fixed the doors with nails and generally completing the building, including whitewashing and cutting timber for the seats.

On 17 March 1846 a severe hurricane destroyed the stone Chapel on its makatea site, before it was opened. The Rev. George Gill watched events unfold near to the mission house on the beach –

> I looked towards the new chapel on the top of the hill and greatly rejoiced at seeing it standing, although I perceived that the roof was much injured but another moment – and another gust - and it was not! the building rocked then it was lifted up – and I saw it fall. [29]

On the following Sabbath, the Oneroa congegation, now without a church, met on the grass enclosure before the mission house. "There", as George Gill noted, "amidst desolation, they sat down and wept when they remembered Zion." *(Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, No 25, 1847). A small wooden structure provided a temporary church for the next few years.

'Punanga II' - the 1849 church on the beach with three roofs

18 October 1848 the Foundation stone for a new chapel was laid by Numangatini and Ata kavana. "Many circumstances of difference among some few of the districts prevented an earlier commencement."[30]

Here is the Rev. George Gill's description of the building's progress in March 1849 –

> We are now (March 1849) finishing the roofs which are 3 but we are very destitute of nails and augurs [drills]. Those we had when building in 1845 are consumed so that when we have to build 2 other Chapels in the inland stations we shall more painfully feel our wants… We have of course selected a more sheltered spot than that on which the former building stood and shall hope to find it more secure to resist the winds and gales to which every year we are more or less exposed. [31]

Later that year, on 19 November 1849, deeds were drawn up, signed by "Banaba and others" (presumably the Aronga Mana) granting the Ta'ukea block to the LMS (including land for a church, manse or mission house, storehouse, and schoolhouse) as well as the cow pen site in Keia.

William Gill (1856; 189) writes that "Three years after the devastation of the hurricane [1846] …the natives of Mangaia had rebuilt their house of prayer, at the principal station [Oneroa]. It was ninety-six feet long and sixty-six feet wide, having an end gallery, and would seat upwards of two thousand people." He describes it as a "noble stone building…" with walls three feet thick (Gill, 1856; 189 - 190).

On 26 September 1849 the new stone chapel was opened. The Rev. George Gill described the proceedings -

> It is now my pleasing duty to inform you that the Chapel for this settlement is completed. It is 96ft long, 66 feet wide and 21 feet high ["having an end gallery, and would seat upwards of two thousand persons." [32]] The opening services were held on the 26th and 28th of last month [September], the former day being for the adults and the latter for the children. [33]
>
> On the 26th all adults connected with the 3 Churches of the 3 villages assembled for the services… At an early hour the parties from the inland villages came to the boundary of the settlement at Oneroa and as soon as the Church members of this village had made the necessary preparations for the reception of their friends, they went in procession to meet them when all parties formed into a line of procession towards the Chapel. All the church members sat on the centre of the building and the class members on each side. It was an interesting sight to see upwards of 500 church members and 400 class members sitting clothed and in their right mind to dedicate the work of their own hands to the worship of the only true and loving God.
>
> Katuke, one of the Native Teachers, preached a short sermon from Luke 2.20 "Behold I bring

> you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people." After the sermon several of the members addressed the assembly in many touching and appropriate remarks referring to the building which we had lost in the hurricane of 1846 and their joy that they were permitted to enter this new building before they departed for the house not made with hands eternal in the heavens.
>
> After they had closed their remarks, I preached from 2 Cor. 5.17 "Of any man be in Christ he is a new creation" and administered the ordinance of the Lord's supper to the Churches. [34]

The church with three roofs and mission house are shown in an illustration published in 1856 in William Gill's book *Gems from the Coral Isles* (1856; 147).

The church and mission house compound in 1852

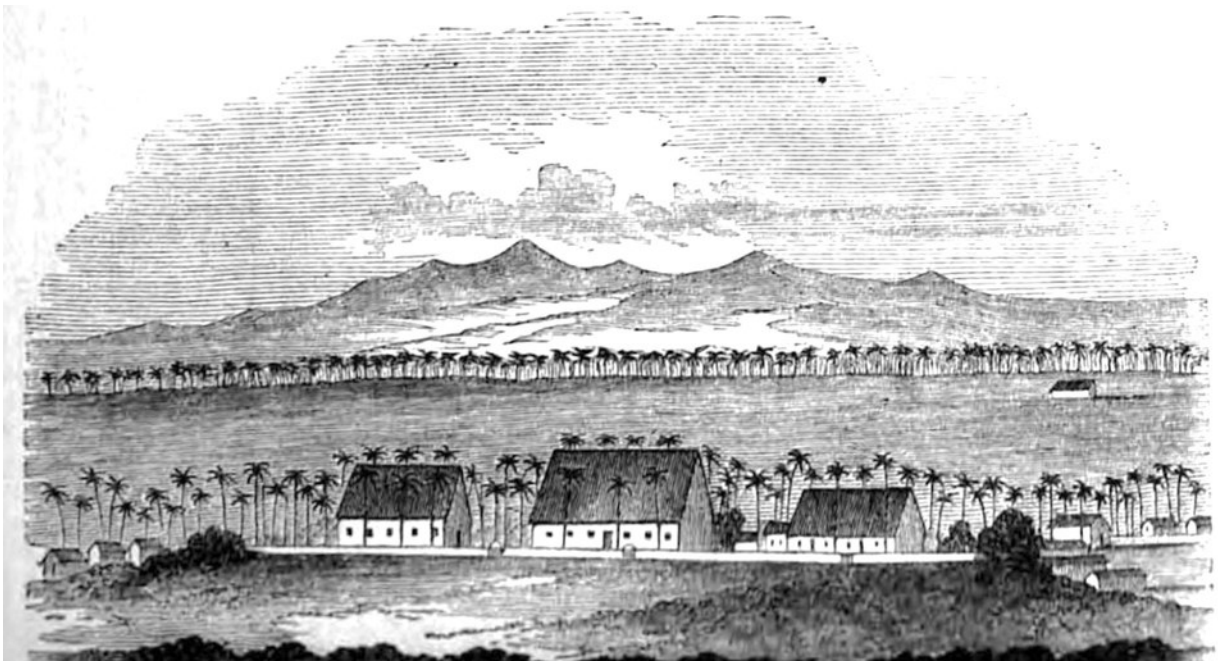
In 1852 routine repairs were made to the Oneroa Chapel. It re-opened in December 1852. On 10 March 1853, [35] Rev George Gill reported – "The repairs to the Chapel at Oneroa mentioned in my last were completed so as to allow us to reopen it on the 1st Sunday in Dec 1852. Having now had 3 months cessation from public and general work the people are fully prepared to erect the New School House for this village [Oneroa]."

In the same year, 1852, Mangaia was visited by Mr. E. H. Lamont, who provided a description of the island in his book *Wild Life Among the Pacific Islanders* (Hurst and Blackett, London, 1867). Lamont writes that -

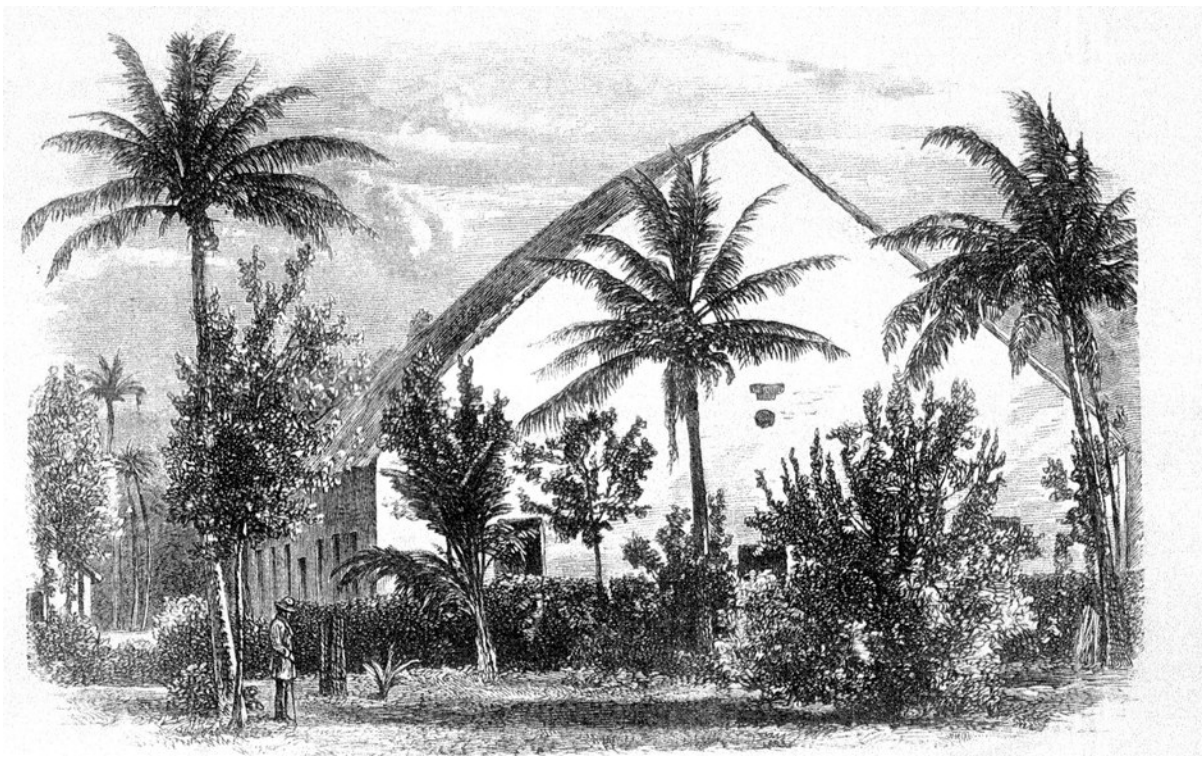
> Heretofore the church had been on the Mukatea or inner valley, but Mr. G. [Gill] preferring the coast plateau asked and was granted land as a site for church and dwelling houses (Lamont, 1867: 82).

Lamont stayed his first night on the island at the Oneroa Mission House as the guest of the Rev. George and Mrs. Gill. The layout of the mission house is confirmed by Lamont's description –

> In the morning I found that my apartment formed a portion of one of the wings of the house which, with wide verandahs, enclosed on three sides a neatly flagged courtyard that opened behind to a grass plot, beyond which were the outhouses, concealed from the view of those in front by tropical shrubbery. The front opened from a similar verandah on a green lawn, ornamented with a few shrubs, and surrounded by a dense hedgerow of lime bushes. The grounds were enclosed by a wall of white stone, with neat gates painted green. The avenues were lined on either side by rows of the slender ti tree, with its plume of variegated leaves



(Above) "Sketch of the Mission premises at Oneroa, Mangaia. Of the more prominent buildings, that on the right is the missionaries residence, the chapel is in the centre, and the school-house on the left." Juvenile Missionary Magazine, 1 March, 1866 (Below) the narrower, single roofed Chapel at Oneroa, opened in 1874, incorporating one wall of the stone church constructed under George Gill's supervision in 1849.The structure on the extreme left is the Sunday School building. This image is dated 1876 – from W.W. Gill, 1876, Life in the Southern Isles,



> nodding on the top of its branchless stem. The mission buildings, which extended to the right and left, consisted of church, schoolhouse, store-houses, &c.
>
> There are also some half-dozen houses of the same material, occupied by the principal chiefs or leading persons, which, with the residences of the other islanders, generally very similar to those of Tahiti, form the village of Oneroa, the capital, as it may be termed, of the island.
>
> The plateau over which the village is scattered, perhaps about a mile in length, and at this place two hundred yards wide, seems to have been at one time a water-washed reef, which has been afterwards upheaved all around the island. There are some fertile spots on it, but more commonly it is a mass of rugged rocks with stunted trees and shrubs struggling for an existence among them.
>
> Behind this level rise the cliffs of another plateau, called the Mukatea [makatea], generally precipitous, and about a hundred feet in height. A zig-zag pathway of stone steps brings you to its summit, immediately behind the mission buildings, where you find yourself on a comparative flat, perhaps half a mile in breadth, the fertile parts of which are used principally for the cultivation of the comera [kumera], or sweet potato (Lamont, 1867: 78-9).

In 1854, George Gill drew attention to the ‘leaky gutters” of the triple-roofed church which made use of the building on rainy days “very uncomfortable.” He requested “60 to 70 sheets of zinc, 200 or 300 ft of window glass, 12 in. by 9, 20m of nails (unsorted). The people themselves are now pretty well supplied with tools which they cheerfully use whenever required. We are however in want of a few pit saws and flat and half round files.” [36]

Three roofs become one

William Wyatt Gill who had been appointed to Tamarua in March 1852, returned to Mangaia and his station at Oneroa after 12 months furlough on 23 March 1863. On arrival, he wrote, “we were pleased to find the large chapel at Oneroa well repaired and neatly ornamented. It has now but one roof [previously three roofs]. The effect of its great width is taken off by the beautiful cinet which adorns each rafter and timber of the open roof. I had left directions and spike nails etc. etc for the work with the teacher. The people commenced the repairs in June 1862 and completed them the August following. The people have exceeded my expectations with regards to “Barbican” as my worthy predecessor named it.” [37]

The Oneroa Church built in 1874, pictured here ten years later in 1884 after renovation - a pathway leads from the church to the mission house and another path in the foreground leads to the sea-wall (image - The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society, July 1884).

ONEROAN CHAPEL, MANGAIA.

Shortly afterwards -

> On March 27, 1866, a fearful cyclone devastated the island, unroofing the churches at Oneroa and Tamarua, destroying two hundred and sixty-eight houses and uprooted two thousand cocoa-nut trees. The sea rose more than thirty feet above its ordinary level… For exactly twenty years the island had been happily exempt from such visitations… In the same month of the following year (1867) there was another hurricane which… did far less damage as the natives had time to secure their dwellings with wild vine tropes of immense strength. In March 1869, a third hurricane occurred… (Gill, 1876**;** 105-106).

The 1849 church (‘Punanga II’) rebuilt in 1869

The Rev. William Wyatt Gill, writing in 1876 reiterated that “the first building [the 1849 beachside church] was originally erected by my predecessor [Rev. George Gill]. Several years ago I induced our people to substitute one lofty roof in the place of three smaller ones.” But he goes on to add, “The edifice had been sadly battered and injured by three cyclones, so that it has recently been replaced by a new building. The lofty open roof is an object of great admiration to visitors from all the neighbouring islands, on account of the many thousands of yards of fine yellow cinnet which adorn the beams and rafters. As the timbers are first blackened with a native dye, the various plaited patterns show off to great advantage. Formerly this cinnet was an object of idolatrous worship” (Gill, 1876; 54).

The Rev. T. Powell who visited Mangaia on 12 June 1869 also noted, “The most remarkable feature about this chapel and the mission house is that all the beams which support the roofs are entirely covered with black and white cinnet wound round them in such a way as to give them all a tessellated appearance. The quantity of cinnet used for this purpose must be enormous. One beam alone in the mission house has around it, if I recollect correctly, about 1,500 yards.” [38]

The Rev. T. Powell observed that in 1869 “The name of the [large chapel] seen on its gable end was “Barbican Chapel, 1846”. [39]

The narrow church, 1874

In 1872, William Wyatt Gill left Mangaia to work in Rarotonga. He was replaced by the 27-year-old, Rev. G. A. Harris, who, having worked for almost a year in the inland villages of Tamarua and Ivirua, took charge of the main station at Oneroa. Harris set to work almost

immediately on the first of a number of grand building projects that would result ultimately in construction of the still existing Oneroa Church and School House.

Writing on 12 July 1872, Harris, who was clearly dissatisfied with Wyatt Gill's modest building efforts noted, "in a month or two our present dilapidated church [at Oneroa] will have to undergo a thorough alteration. It requires to be newly thatched, refloored, newly seated and in consequence of several inconveniences arising from its size, it has been proposed to make it much narrower. All this will be a tremendous work for the people who have no wood to speak of, save their own cocoanut tree, hundreds of which must be felled down and made by the use of the axe into planks for flooring, seats, etc." [40]

After short delays, work began on building the new chapel in 1873.

> When I returned last June (1873) from visiting the outstations of this group I found to my great joy that work had started [on rebuilding the Oneroa Church]. Before I left, I spoke of the pleasure it would give me to find the work commenced upon my return. But as I had been disappointed in the preceding year respecting the Church I feared something might occur to cause another delay. However, ere I landed I could see the old Church walls had been pulled down and here and there native workshops erected. This evidently meant work. Upon enquiry, I found that soon after I had left the island the King and Chiefs consulted together as to what had better be done and the following is what they decided upon. That by the first opportunity a number of men should proceed to Mauke (an island of this group) to obtain *tamanu* posts, from about 60 to 70 feet in length and also that instead of following their usual plan of felling cocoa-nut trees for the flooring of the Church they resolved to purchase Oregon pine, the cost of all the above to be paid for equally by the three tribes in the produce of the island. It was not long after this meeting that a schooner arrived off Mangaia and according to their arrangements she was chartered to take 16 men to Mauke to leave them there for a few weeks until the trees were cut down and then to return them with the *tamanu* to Mangaia. The price was fixed at 96 dollars for the passage of the men and one dollar per pole for the wood. Seven thousand feet of pine was ordered from the same vessel at seven cents per foot which arrived from Tahiti about two months after the natives had returned with sixteen beautiful posts of *tamanu* from Mauke. Thus the native entered into the rebuilding of their Church with a zest and spirit which to my mind reflects great credit upon them. For eight long months a continued noise of voices and men busy at work with hammer and chisel was heard about the Mission House. From daylight to sunset they continued to work – their food being daily brought to them by their wives and children. From the commencement to the time of opening ten months had elapsed, two months of this being taken up – not with employment for themselves but in making arrowroot for the London Missy. Society... I think I informed you that the object of pulling down the old church was to make it considerably

> narrower, i.e. more shapely and better adapted for preaching purposes. One side wall therefore was left entire, and is part of the present building, that wall is still called the wall of 'Gili-metua' which is the native name of the Rev. G. Gill. [41] As far as I am able to calculate, this village has expended about a thousand dollars in materials on their Church. This is certainly an enormous sum in the native mind for such a purpose and the first great outlay of the kind that has been made on Mangaia. I may note here also with much pleasure that throughout they have acted solely on the voluntary principle. We have now I am happy to say a most magnificent and comfortable place of worship – all of us are rejoicing in the work and labour of our hands. The pulpit is the only thing about it unfinished – we are at present making use of the old one, we mean however to get a new pulpit and would have done so had we had any wood suitable for the purpose. We hope to succeed sometime this year in obtaining sufficient tamanu to make it. It was on account of not having a new pulpit that we delayed in the reopening of our church, some of the elderly natives however expressed their fear that they would never worship within its walls if the opening were postponed much longer, so we decided to open it on April 29, 1874. [42]

Around this time, the island was visited by an English naval vessel *HMS Cameleon* [43] under Cdr. Karl H. A. Mainwaring. "Captain Mainwaring of *HMS Cameleon* referring to his recent visit, says "The church and mission-house at Oneroa deserve special mention, being by far the best built I saw amongst the Hervey Group and Leeward Islands - the rafters of both being covered with very fine sennit plaiting, laid on in most artistic and tasteful patterns. The grounds about both church and mission-house are well laid out and carefully kept." [44]

In 1881 the Oneroa chapel was renovated. [45]

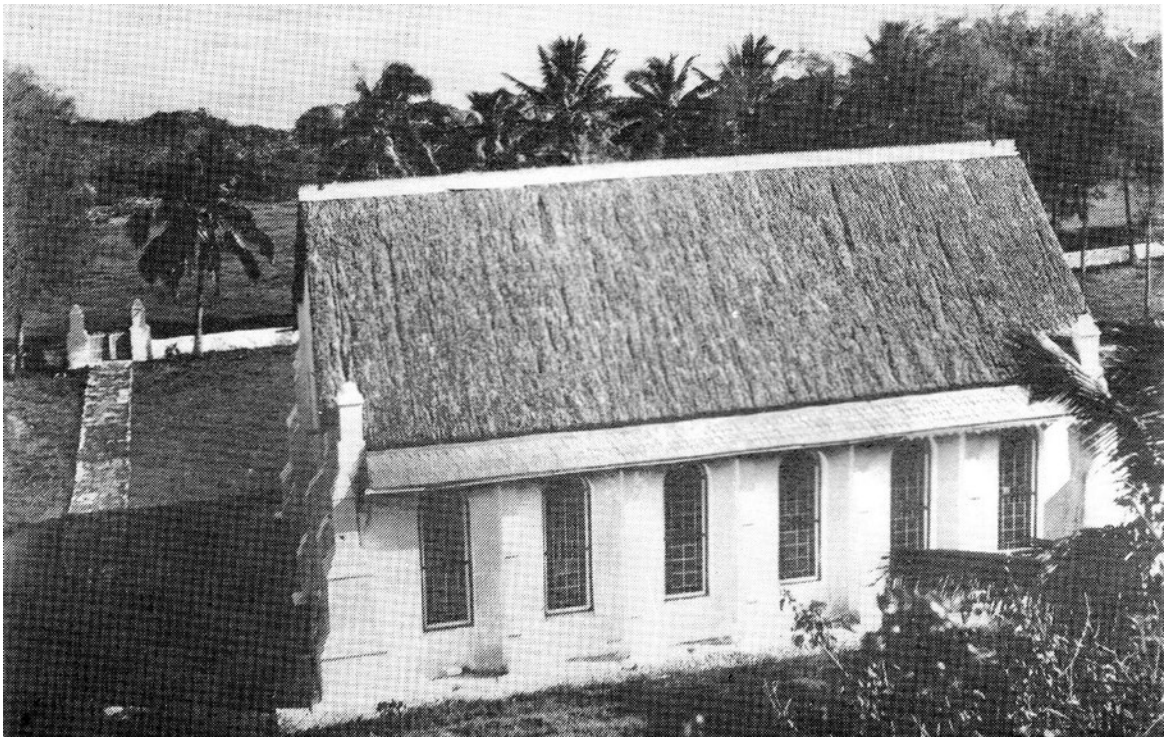
> Our first undertaking was the partial rebuilding of the large Oneroa Chapel with all new internal woodwork and fittings. This great effort cost the Oneroans a large sum, beside immense labour for several month. The Chapel seats about 1,000 persons. [46]

This chapel survived the January 1888 cyclone [47] but in the same year, on 1 August 1888, the foundation stone was laid for a new church building.

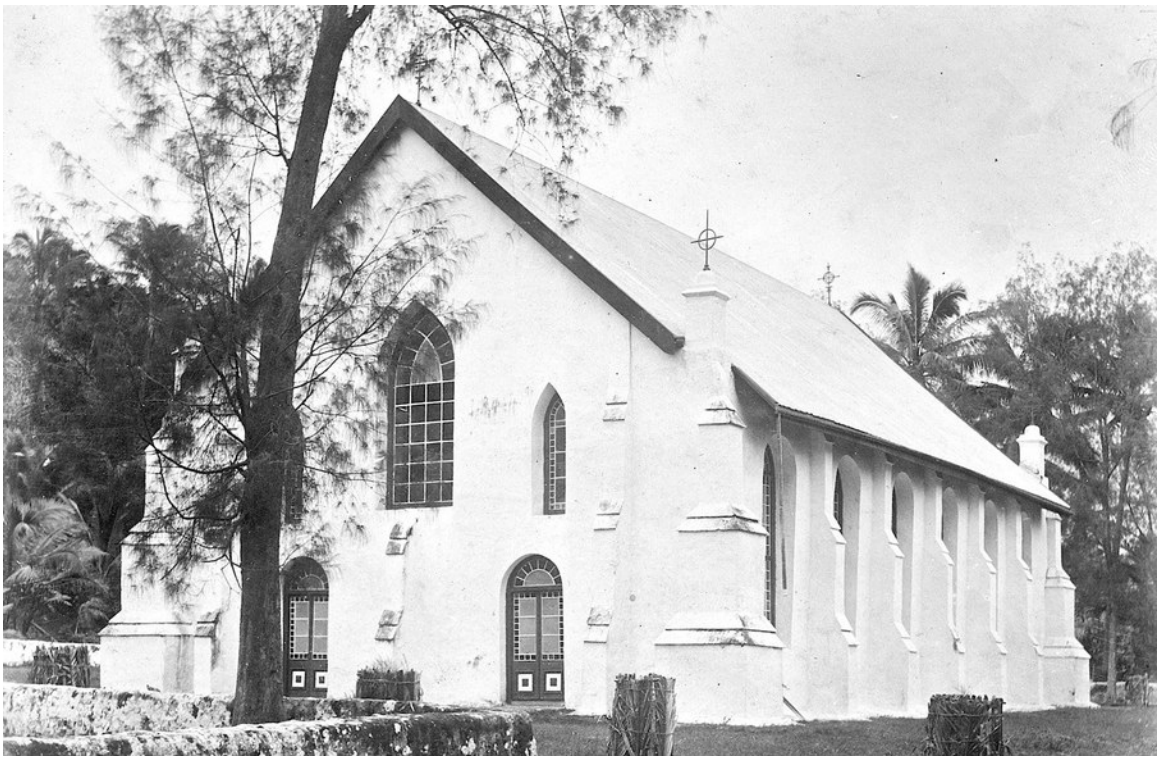
'Salema ei Punanga', 1891

Jerusalem - the city of refuge

In 1891, the Rev G. A Harris reported -



(Above) - the new Oneroa Chapel opened on 12 August 1891 - note the pandanus roofing, stained glass windows and a border of slates (photo – George Crummer). (*Below*) *"Buttresses in stone between the long coloured windows .... Iron spikes & slates over a portion of the Chapel give it quite an imposing appearance." The roofing of pandanus thatch was replaced by iron, c. 1900*



> On the first of this month we laid the foundation stone of our new Oneroa Chapel... I asked Mrs. Harris to perform the ceremony. A bottle containing copies of the 'London Weekly Times' (1888), the 'Christian' & the 'Chronicle' was therefore deposited by her into a hole cut out of the stone for the purpose & immediately after the reading of the 22nd Psalm, singing & prayers, the people commenced building the wall. There is a desire on the part of the natives that the present edifice should excel in beauty & strength any previous place of worship. I am sorry that my own knowledge of the principles of building in general, & of Chapels in particular, is so meagre, especially as we have no skilled artisans among our natives just now & the whole responsibility of directing the construction of the Chapel rests upon my own shoulders. I trust however, that we shall be able successfully to follow the plan we have drawn out on paper & ultimately to rejoice in the work of our hands. I cannot say how long the people will take in completing the building. As all materials required are not yet to hand and ships here at the present time are few and far between we may have to wait considerable time ere we get our orders executed. Our present plan includes a gallery all around the chapel. Meanwhile we are worshipping in our large School House [completed 1879]. [48]

In January 1889, Harris wrote –

> the work of building our new Chapel [at Oneroa] is still going on daily … we are hoping to finish our New Zion by next May or even earlier. This Chapel, in its architectural style, is much more pretentious than any hitherto erected on Mangaia. Being near the sea & exposed to great winds, the walls have been made 3 feet thick of lime & stones and more than 20 feet high front and back. There are buttresses in stone between the long coloured windows & also carvings in stone by way of external ornaments, the design of which I put on paper & which the artisans of Mangaia have very cleverly carried out. We are now about building a half circle gallery to it. Iron spikes & slates [49] over a portion of the Chapel give it quite an imposing appearance. Thousands of yards of beautifully plaited sinnet, made from the cocoanut fibre, cover the rafters in strange, fantastic designs making the building quite unique in style and richness. Several thousand dollars have already been expended on wood & materials required for the work. [50]

An initial order for 12,000 feet of timber at seven cents a foot was followed by "A large impending order for further wood, windows, doors amounting to about 2,000 dollars. The people must therefore work hard as debt is not allowed to be contracted on Mangaia." [51]

Pathways leading to the church made of sandstone or papa were cut with steel axes rather then the two-man cross saws used to cut the stone for the Titikaveka church.

The new church, ‘Salema Ei Punanga’ was opened on Wednesday 12 August 1891.

> On Wednesday last, August 12, 1891 we celebrated the opening of our new Oneroan Church, which has taken us two years in building. I am sending you by the same mail two photographs, one of the exterior & the other of part of the interior of the building. It has cost the people several thousand dollars, as well as incessant and arduous labour. The edifice is a very lofty and commodious place of worship, with immense rafters, all of which are very tastefully covered with plaited sinnet. The walls of stone and plaster also are very high, and for native workmanship, very evenly built. All the windows & doors are of stained glass and look very pretty. In fact, the internal part is so European in style & comfort that were it not for the bright sun & tropical surroundings, we might imagine ourselves in an English church, erected by properly trained artisans. There is a half-circular gallery at one end where the singers & the school children with their teachers sit. Altogether, it is far in advance of any church previously built in Mangaia. The many designs drawn out by myself for wood and stone work have been very wonderfully & beautifully executed by the native workmen, all having been done with the chisel, saw, and axe… The roof was made of pandanus leaves beautifully plaited and nailed on the top part of the building and lower edges was covered with hundreds of equally squared slates. [52]

The opening was attended by, among others, the British Resident Mr. F.W. Moss and Rev. G. A. Harris preached from the word, “How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts.” 2 cattle and 598 pigs were baked for the opening feast.

Work on the building resulted in considerable community hardship with Harris reporting “food shortages, less taro planted during work on chapel.” [53]

The church was visited by the Rev Wardlaw Thompson, Foreign Director of the London Missionary Society on 29 June, 1897. He described the new church -

> The church at Oneroa is a very creditable building, in which a happy effort has been made to blend the native with the European style of building. Externally it is a plain oblong, with round-headed doors and windows, and a roof partly of thatch and partly of slate. Internally the roof timbers are constructed in native fashion, beautifully lashed and tied, and adorned with dyed cinet. The roof is supported by two rows of five square pillars. The rest of the internal arrangements are purely European.There is a good pulpit, an orthodox communion table and rail, pews, and a handsome end gallery with a curved and shaped front. [54]

In 1884, the flagstones forming the pathway to the mission house had been removed by the Rev. William Nicol Lawrence who "saw fit to take up the old stone pathway so admirably laid down by the Revd. Wyatt Gill... As this was such a decided change for the worse... I [Rev. George

Harris] got the Oneroan deacons to cut fresh stones or slabs to lay them down as of old." [55] The flagstones removed by Lawrence are thought to have once formed part of the Marae O Rongo.

The pandanus roofing was replaced with iron around 1900. [56] On 15 January 1905, following a hurricane, the New Zealand Resident Agent Major John Thompson Large reported, “The Oneora Church sustained great injury, every sheet of iron being blown off the roof and about a third of the woodwork was also stripped off, several large windows smashed and other damage done to the structure.” [57]

> The wind carried away all the iron from the roof of the Oneroa church like so many sheets of paper. Out of three hundred and twenty sheets of iron, not one could be found of any use. All the beams and rafters fell into the church and several of the windows were broken to pieces. [58]

The high cost of the church repairs was a matter of considerable concern to the New Zealand Resident Commissioner W. E. Gudgeon and the Resident Agent Large who reported “the coffee and copra of the Oneora people being *mortgaged* to pay for the iron and timber they have received from Rarotonga for the roof of the Oneroa Church which materials were only ordered by a few.” [59]

We do not have a full record of subsequent changes to the building other than the following information -

> another change of roofing materials occurred in the 1950s when iron was replaced with aluminium roofing;
>
> Teharuru Brown (1984) writes, “If I remember correctly, there were about twelve… supporting pillars. During my teenage years, we young people were the ones who sat in this second storey section of the Church while the young people sat in the front with their teachers and the older people behind them. Each district had its section….In the 1970s it [the gallery] was pulled down….because the wood and supporting pillars were rotting.”
>
> Taoi Nooroa (*pers.comm.* 1985) recalls that the gallery was decorated with intricate carvings on the pillars, steps and benches, etc. Following renovations around 1970, most of the carvings were burned for cooking wood though some pieces may have been retained by individuals. These renovations included replacing the wood flooring with stone and replacing windows.

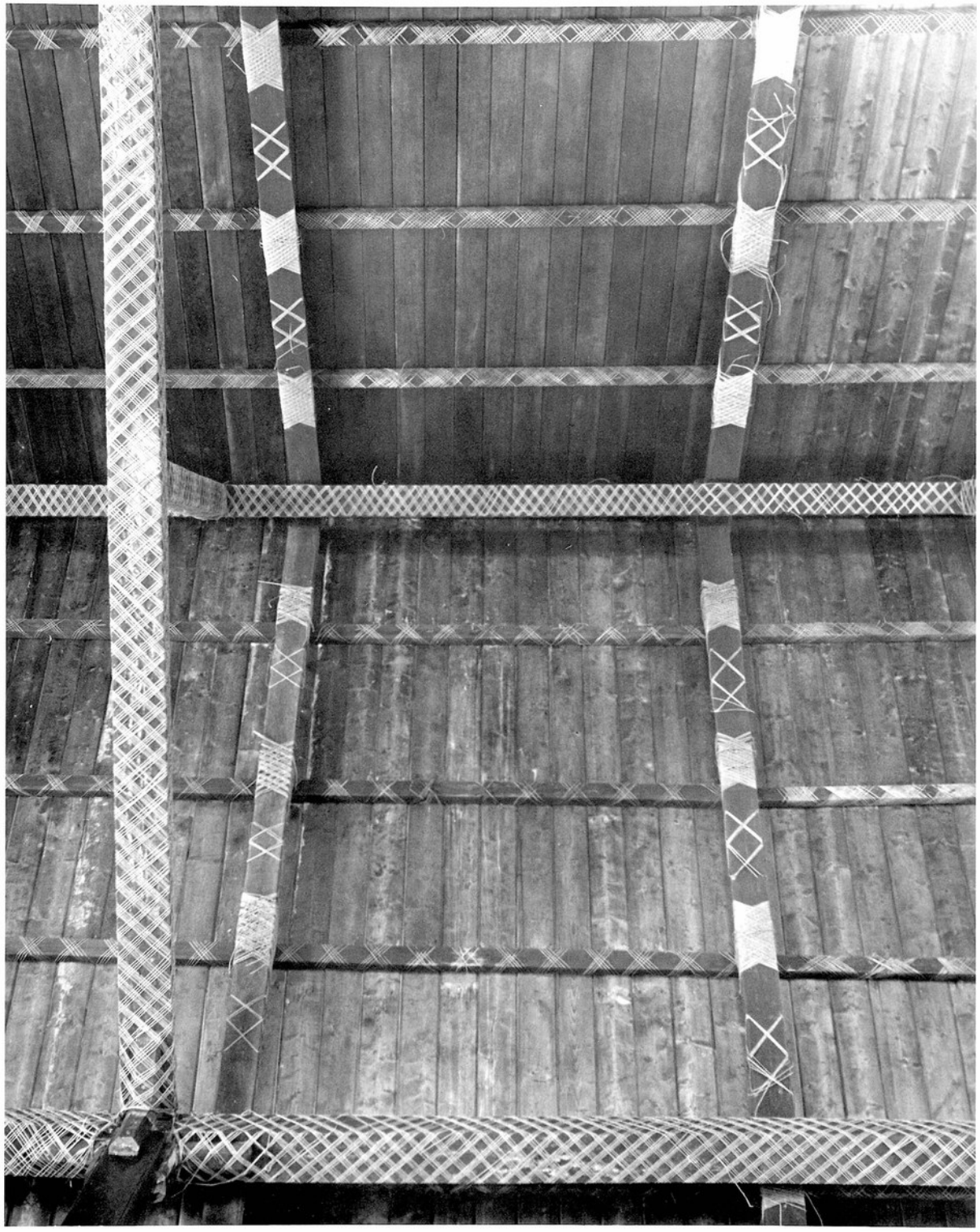
The roof was replaced in the early 1980s. The internal aisled structure of tamanu posts *(seen in the photos overpage*) was removed and steel portal frames inserted to span the roof space. The rafters with their unique historic sennit lashings were removed and burned and the stained glass windows replaced with clear glass.

Footnotes

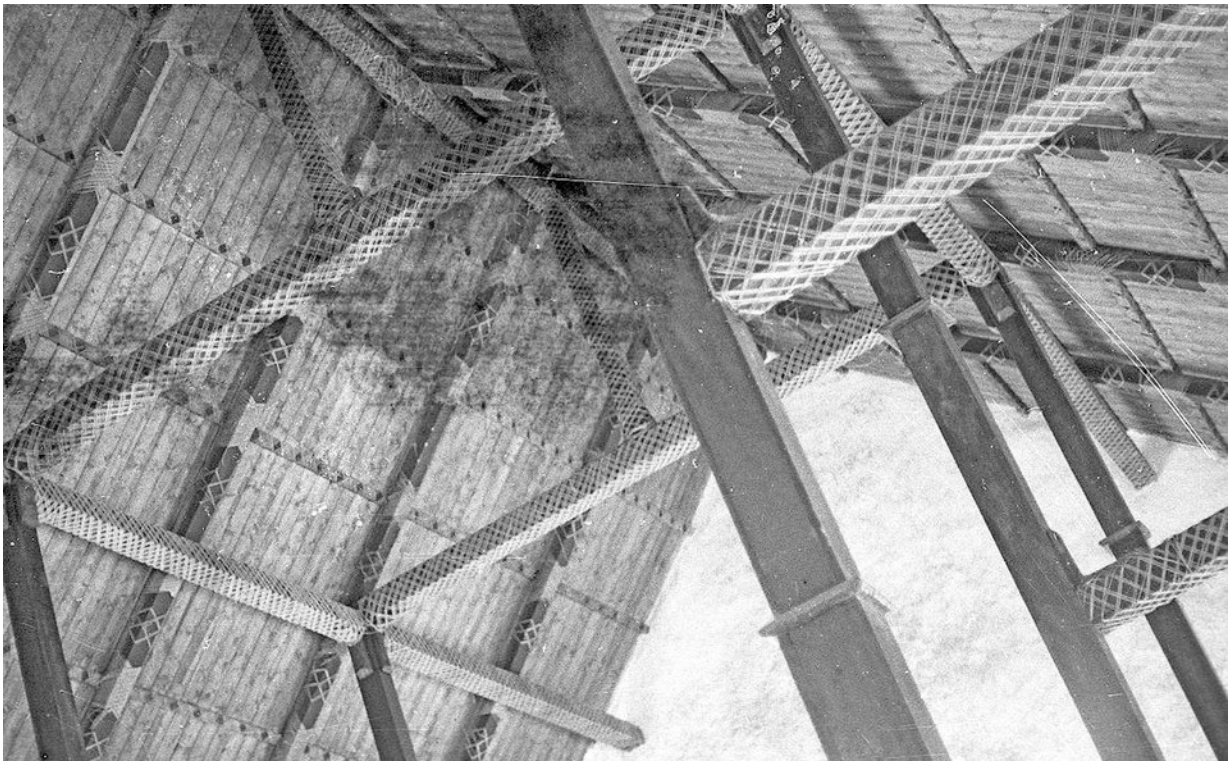
[1] Gill, 1876; 92 - 94
[2] “Marae’ara was the marae on which the chiefs met to discuss matters concerning the interior economy of the tribe and the problems affecting law and justice. The integrity of the decisions arrived at is indicated by a quotation from a song: "Ko'atu tanu i Marae'ara." (The stone planted at Marae’ara.)” Hiroa/Buck, 1934; 176
[3] ‘Akaoro – the national inland marae of Rongo.
[4] “Itikau was a social open-air hall at which the drums were sounded: "Tumatuma te pa'u i 'Itikau." (Softly sound the drums on Itikau.)” Hiroa/Buck, 1934; 176
[5] Tiere died after 15 months on Mangaia according to Tyerman and Bennett 1832, Vol II; 239; when Rev. Robert Bourne visited Davida in September 1825, that is 15 months after Davida and Tiere's landing, Tiere was already dead - *Missionary Herald for the Year 182*6, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, p. 379
[6] For a record of Bourne's 1825 visit - see *Missionary Herald for the Year 182*6, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, p. 379. For a record of Platt's 1830 visit - see Rev. George Platt, *Voyage from Borabora to Hervey Islands, 18 December 1829 - 02 March 1830*, SOAS, South Seas Journals.
[7] In 1953 the anthropologist Don Marshall recorded another tradition from an unnamed informant stating that - “The first place that the Gospel was accepted was on the marae ‘oro on Keia land – then the first “Christian” village was in Veitatei, under Maretu, and called Titama. The next village was on the makatea (at a place where the headmaster now lives – this was called Tuviriviri – Then in accord with the steady move towards the sea, the present village was set up – This church is on a place called Punanga (‘fortress’) and the mission called “Ta’ukea” Don Marshall, *Field Notes 1953-4*; 220
[8] Tyerman and Bennett 1832, Vol II; 239
[9] Vaaeruea ministered on Mangaia from 1830 until his death in 1839 (Maretu, 1983; 127)
[10] This refers to the cyclone of December 1831 – see de Scally, 2006
[11] Aaron Buzacott and Charles Barff, *Voyage to Hervey Islands and Samoa*, 1834, South Seas Journals, Box 7, File 104
[12] *“Speech of Deacon of the Native Church, Oneroa, Mangaia”* (transcribed by Rev. George Gill), 1 January 1846, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A
[13] Charles Pitman, *Journals*, Mitchell Library, Vol. III, 1835, pp. 268 - 9

[14] in the old sense of this word, "curiosity" means "extraordinary" or "wrought with or requiring care and art."
[15] Rev. Charles Pitman, 25 June 1835, SOAS, SSL Box 10, Folder 1, Jacket D
[16] Conrad Martens, 1994, *Journal of a Voyage from England to Australia 1833*-35 / transcript by Michael Organ, State Library of NSW Press, Sydney. The four-month church construction period suggested by Martens contrasts to Pitman's estimation of two years.
[17] 23 - 25 August 1835 – *Rev George Platt and Mr Wilson visit Mangaia on route to Rarotonga and Navigator Islands.* South Seas Journals, Box 8, File 110
[18] Gill, 1880; 98
[19] Budgett, 2007; 58-9
[20] Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1846, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D
[21]*The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle,* Volumes 10-12, London 1847 p.114
[22] Land court minute books 1931-1974, Volume 1; 110 "Maarona Okirua sworn [*to give evidence*]. Land [Pukamaru] belongs to Numangatini. Gospel's original site. Numangatini gave it. After Numangatini's death John Tereko [Trego] became custodian. The People became at peace, Tamarua and Ivirua went back to their own place, no more fighting ……"
[23] Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D
[24] Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1845, SOAS, SSL. Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D
[25] Rev. George Gill, 7 February, 1846, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A
[26] Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1845, SOAS. SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D
[27] Letter from the Church at Oneroa, 2 January 1846, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A
[28] Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D
[29] *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle,* Volumes 10-12, London 1847 p. 114
[30] Rev. George Gill, 26 March 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket A
[31] Rev. George Gill, 26 March 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket A
[32] Gill, 1856: 189
[33] Rev. George Gill, 26 October 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket B
[34] Rev. George Gill, 26 October 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22. Folder 2. Jacket B
[35] Rev. George Gill, 10 March 1853, SOAS, SSL, Box 25, Folder 3, Jacket A
[36] Rev. George Gill, 19 December 1854, SOAS, SSL, Box 25, Folder 6, Jacket D
[37] Rev. W. W. Gill to LMS, 3 August 1863, Box 29, Folder 3, Jacket C
[38] Rev. Thomas Powell, Visit to Mangaia, in *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society,* April 1870; 84 - 6
[39] Rev. Thomas Powell, Visit to Mangaia, in *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society,* April 1870; 84 - 6
[40] Rev. G A Harris, 12 July 1872, SOAS, SSL, Box 33, Folder 4, Jacket B
[41] That is, a side wall of the 1849 church was incorporated into the 1874 church.

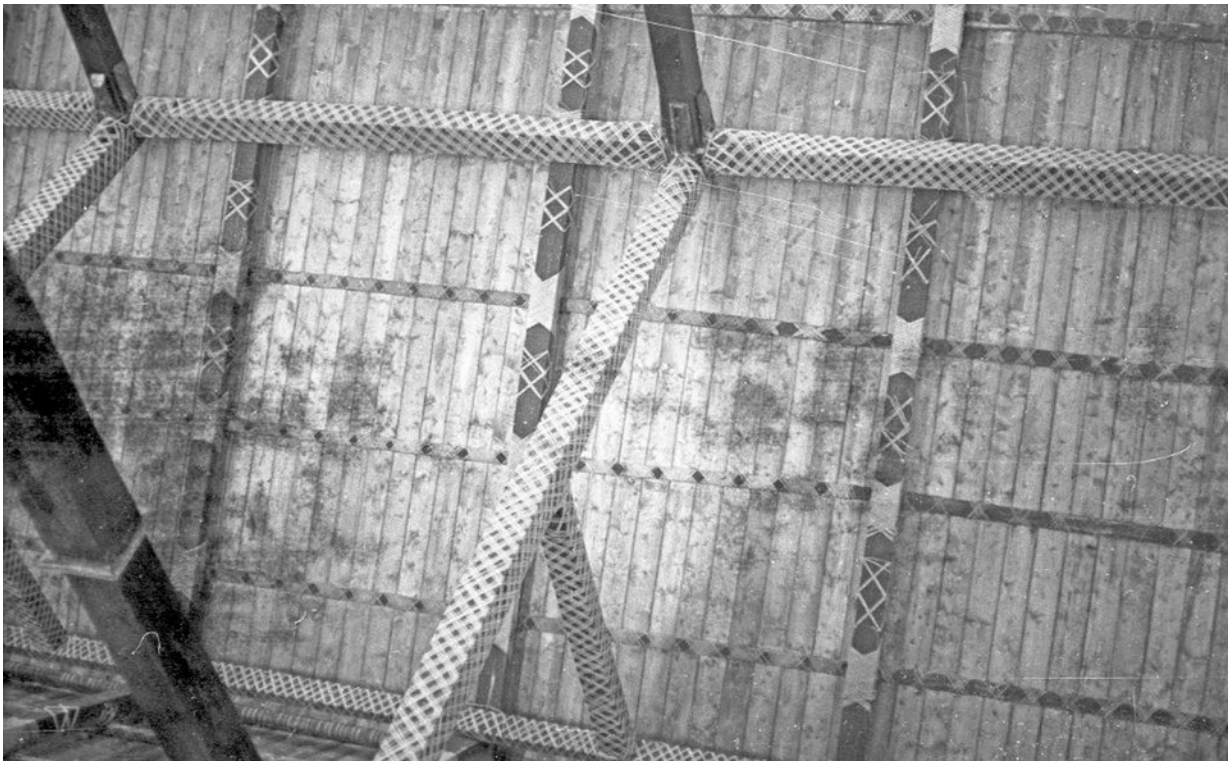
[42] Rev. G A Harris, 30 June, 1874, SOAS, SSL, Box 34 Folder 5 Jacket A; Church rebuilding finished. About £1000 spent by Oneroa on timber from Mauke and Oregon. Great Opening feast.
[43] HMS *Cameleon*, a 17-gun British Navy corvette, built 23 February 1860; sold 1883
[44] Karl H. A. Mainwaring*, Cruise of the HMS Cameleon*, printed for private circulation, quoted in Gill, 1876; 8
[45] Rev. G. A. Harris, 20 August 1881, SOAS, South Seas Reports, File Box 1, 1866-1880; "A short review of 10 years residence…"
[46] Rev. G. A. Harris, 20 August 1881, SOAS, South Seas Reports, File Box 1, 1866-1880; "A short review of 10 years residence…"
[47] Rev. G A Harris, 13 February 1888, SOAS. SSL, Box 39, Folder 4, Jacket D
[48] Rev. G A Harris, 6 August 1888, SOAS, SSL, Box 40, Folder 1, Jacket D
[49] The deacons resolved to use slate instead of pandanus thatch for the roof and ordered a total of 15,500 slates at 10 cents per slate. The slate roof provided a source of water for domestic use in the mission house. Rev. G. A. Harris, 3 June 1887, SOAS, South Seas Reports, 1881 – 88, File Box 2, File 21
[50] Rev. G. A. Harris, 13 January 1891, SOAS, SSL, Box 41 Folder 4, Jacket B
[51] Rev. G. A. Harris, 21 December 1887, SOAS, South Seas Reports, 1881 - 88, File Box 2, File 22
[52] Rev. G. A. Harris, 12 August 1891, SOAS, SSL, Box 41, Folder 4, Jacket C
[53] Rev. G.A. Harris, 11 January 1892, SOAS, SSL, Box 42, Folder 1, Jacket A, PS "I enclose another photograph of our chapel taken in our own garden."
[54] Wardlaw Thompson, 1900; 171 - 2.
[55] Rev. G.A. Harris, 3 June 1887, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 2, File 21
[56]*Te Karere*, No 9 Supplement August 1899 p. 11 - 12
[57] Mangaian Resident Agent J. T. Large to Resident Commissioner W. E. Gudgeon, 28 January 1905
[58] Rev. H Bond James, 3 March 1905, SOAS, SSL, File Box 49
[59] Mangaian Resident Agent J. T. Large to Resident Commissioner W. E. Gudgeon, 13 March, 1905

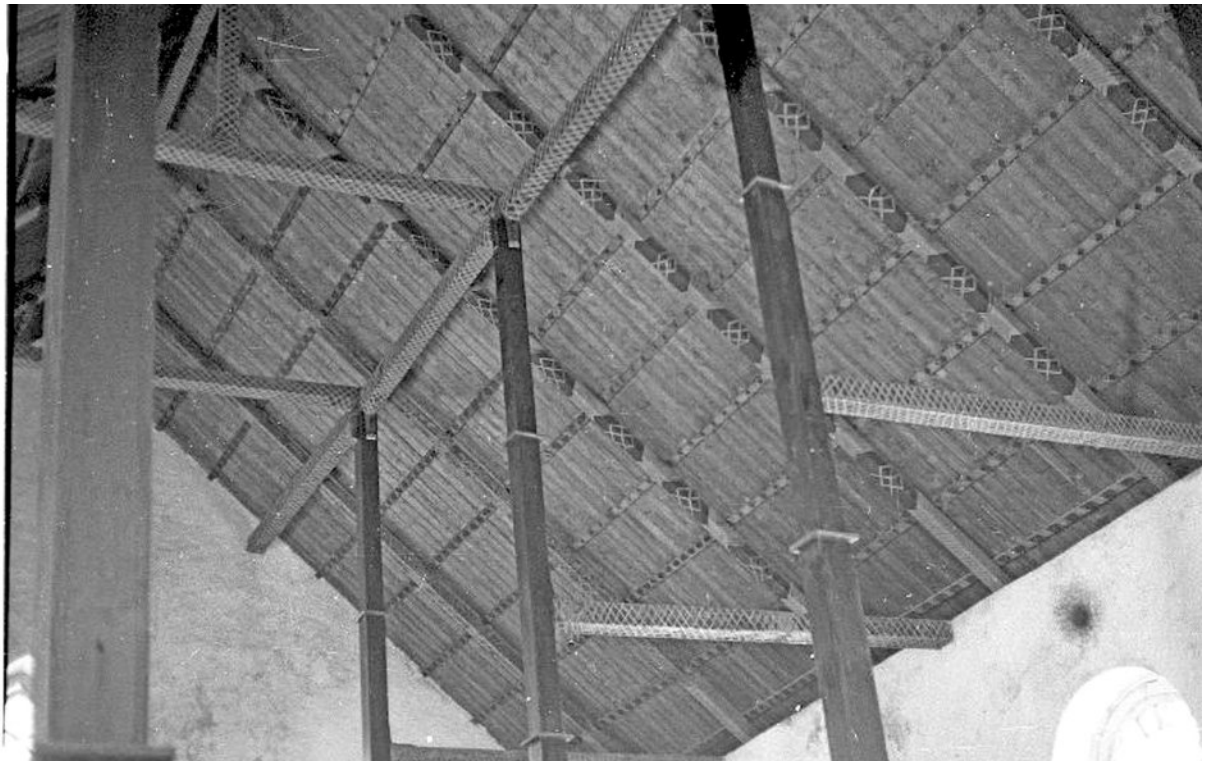


Sennit lashing, Oneroa Church, Mangaia prior to their removal c. 1981. Buck/Hiroa recorded the three designs shown as Te Puta o te 'I'iri (The hole [open pattern] of Te 'I'iri) which is "the design used on rafters and beams"); Te Puta o te Ikatuna (The hole [open pattern] of Te Ikatuna) which is the design "used on purlins" (Buck, 1944:46). The dense sennit lashing seen on the rafters is known as inaere (D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands).

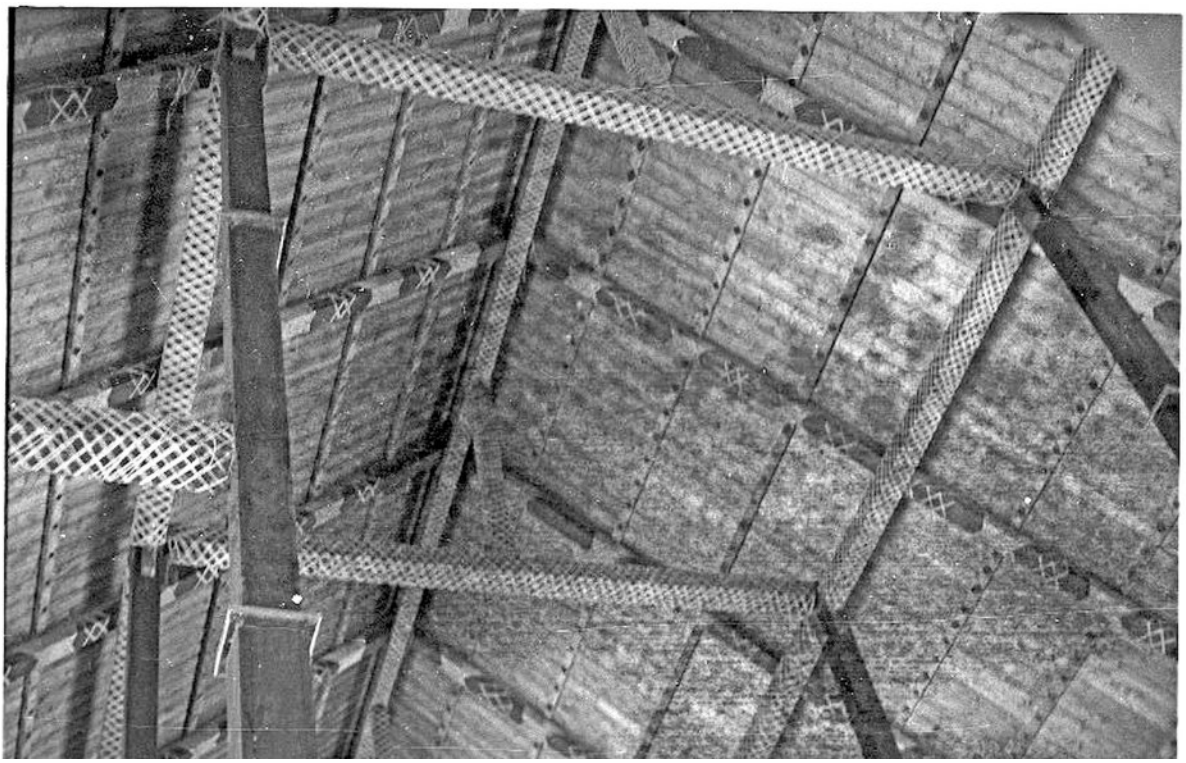


(This page and next) Sennit weave on the rafters and beams of the Oneroa church c.1979 (photos - P. Bellwood, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Auckland



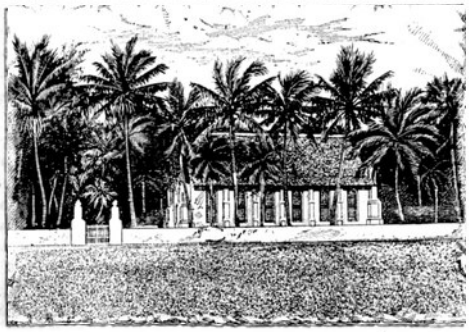


The three different sennit weaves are thought to represent Ngati Tane, Manaune and Ngariki - victors of the last land war on Mangaia in 1821,



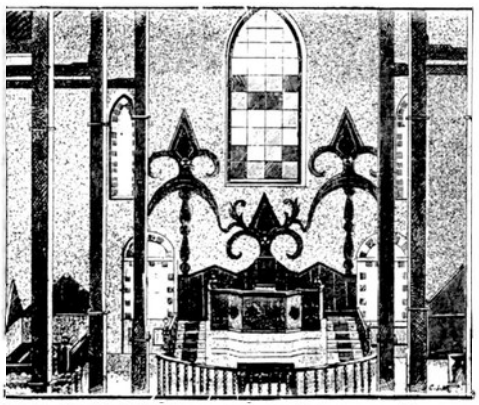
A NEW CHAPEL IN THE HERVEY ISLANDS.

ON Wednesday last, August 12th, writes the Rev. G. A. Harris, of Mangaia, we celebrated the opening of our new Oneruan Chapel, which has taken us two years in building.

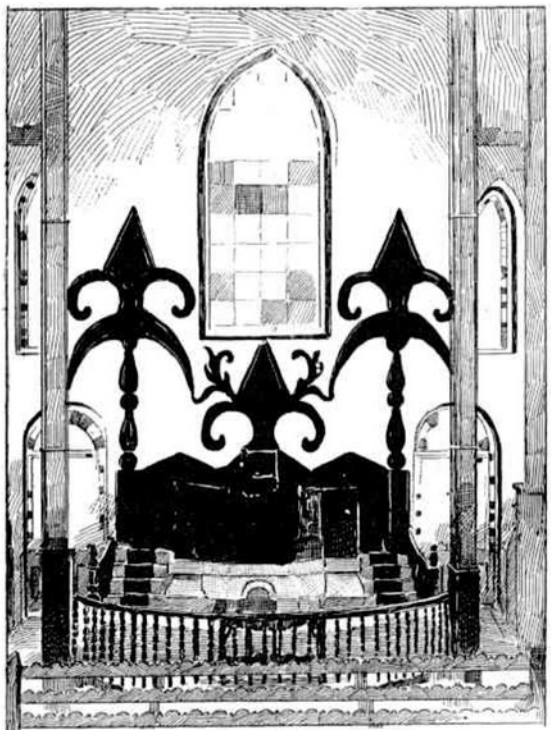


THE NEW CHAPEL.—EXTERIOR.

It has cost the people several thousand dollars, as well as incessant and arduous labour. The edifice is a very lofty and commodious place of worship, with immense rafters, all of which are very tastefully covered with plaited sinnet. The walls of stone and plaster are also very high, and, for native workmanship, very evenly built. All the windows and doors are of stained glass, and look very pretty. In fact, the



it not for the bright sun and tropical surroundings, we might imagine ourselves in an English chapel, erected by properly trained artisans. There is a half-circular gallery at one end, where the singers and the school children with their teachers sit. Altogether, it is far in advance of any



Australian Town and Country Journal, Sydney
15 June, 1895

chapel previously built in Mangaia. The many designs drawn out by myself for wood and stone work have been very wonderfully and beautifully executed by the native workmen, all having been done with the chisel, saw, and axe.

The day of opening was a lovely day, and we had a very interesting service. A large number of visitors from Rarotonga, Aitutaki, and Atiu were present, including some kings, chiefs, and deacons. Mr. Moss, our Resident, with his interpreter, Mr. Nicholas, was also present, and several other Europeans living on the island.

Our opening service commenced with a new hymn which I composed for the occasion, and for which the young people made up an excellent tune. Native teachers and deacons conducted the entire service with the exception of the sermon, which I myself preached from the words, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!"

Chronicles of the London Missionary Society,
January 1892 (photos - Rev. George Harris)

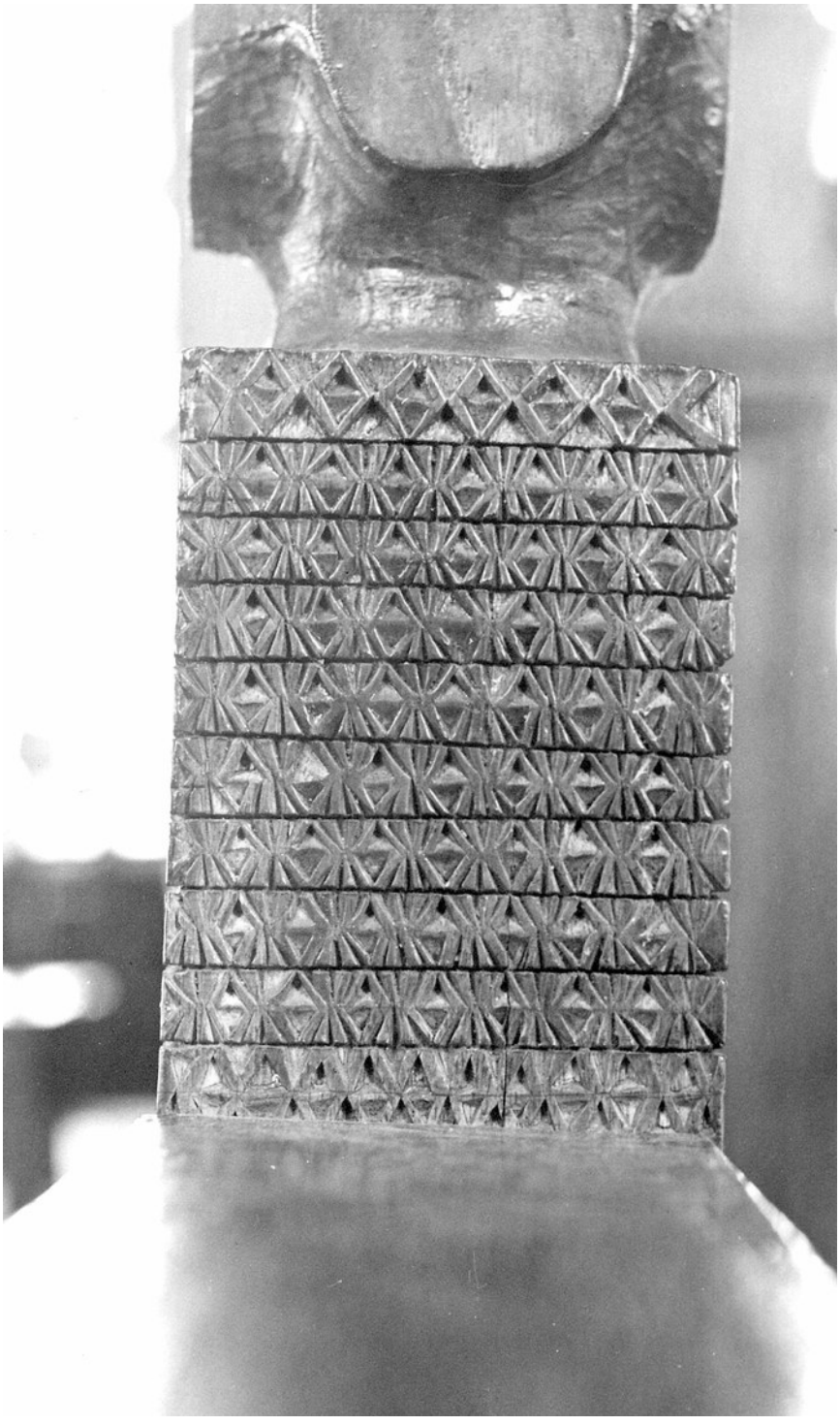
Oneroa Church, interior; decorated for the sabati aka'au, 1954 (photo - D. S. Marshall Collection, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands). According to Dr. John Numa "the decoration behind the pulpit ... represents three spearheads - the three friendly tribes that supported the church here."

The church in 1982 before renovation and removal of stained-glass windows (photo – Rod Dixon)
It is said that each church post was a rangatira and that tapere members sat close to their rangatira, but the orometua Jonetini (John Tini) from Aitutaki changed this in the time of the second world war.

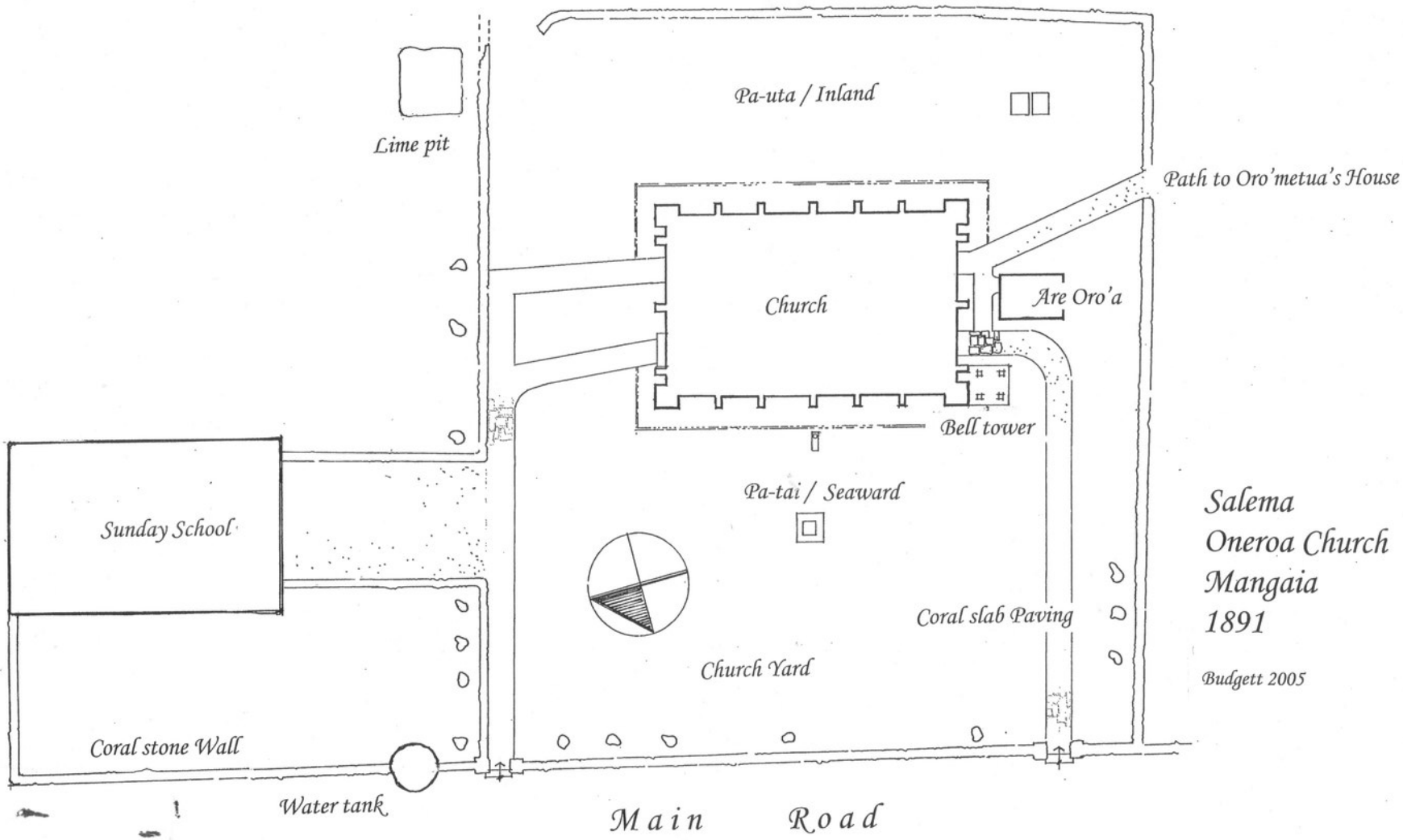
Stairway to the gallery, Oneroa church (photo; D. S. Marshall Collection, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands)

Oneroa church interior, 1954 - note the special pew box corner seating for the ariki, the carved altar rail and pews, the coloured glass window surrounds and the sennit decorated rafter and beams. (photo - D. S. Marshall Collection, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands).

photo - Rod Dixon, 1982



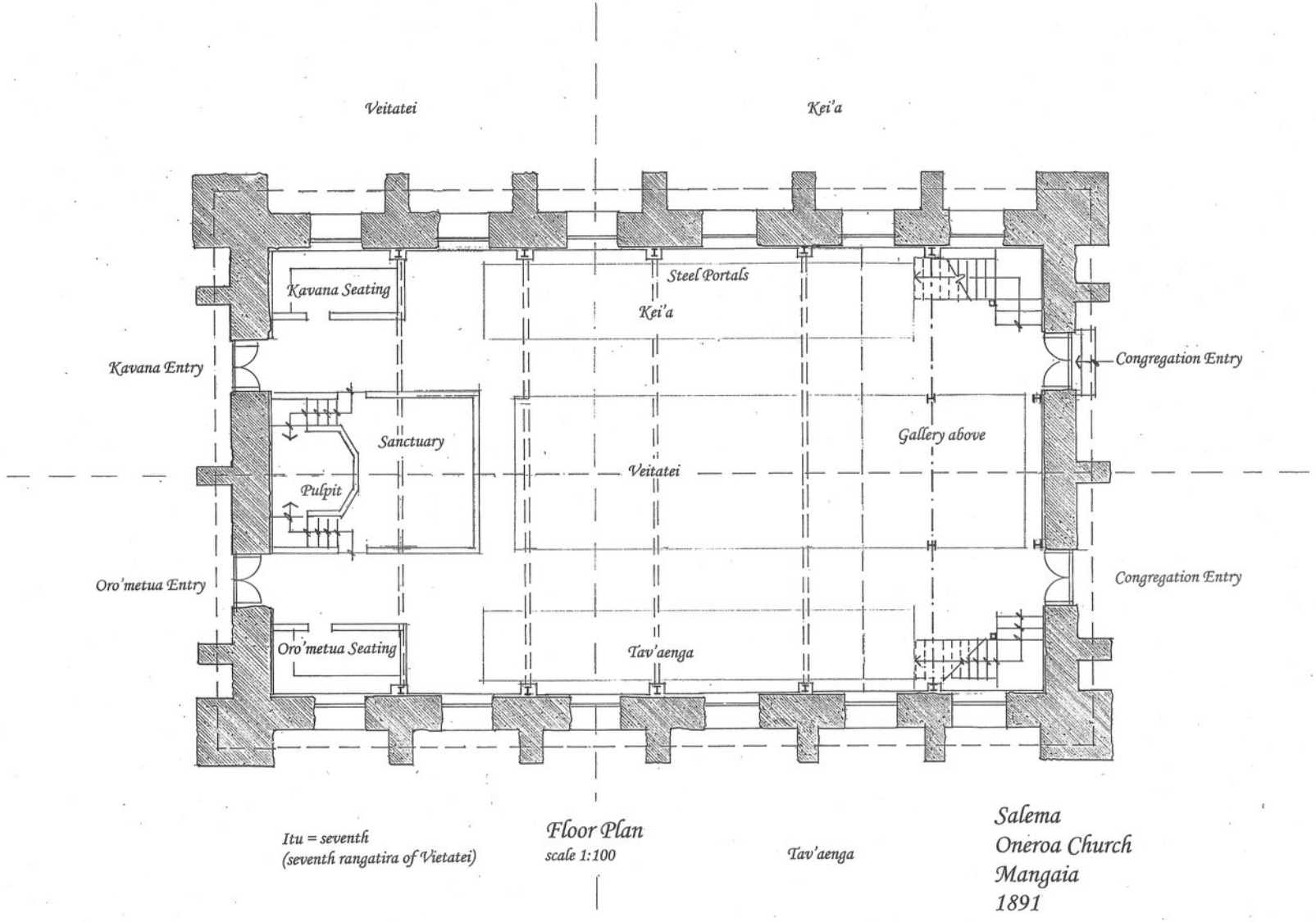
Detail of box pew carvings in the Oneroa church, 1954, with the maroitiki or uritua motif (photo - D. S. Marshall Collection, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands)



Salema
Oneroa Church
Mangaia
1891

Budgett 2005

Site Plan
scale 1:400



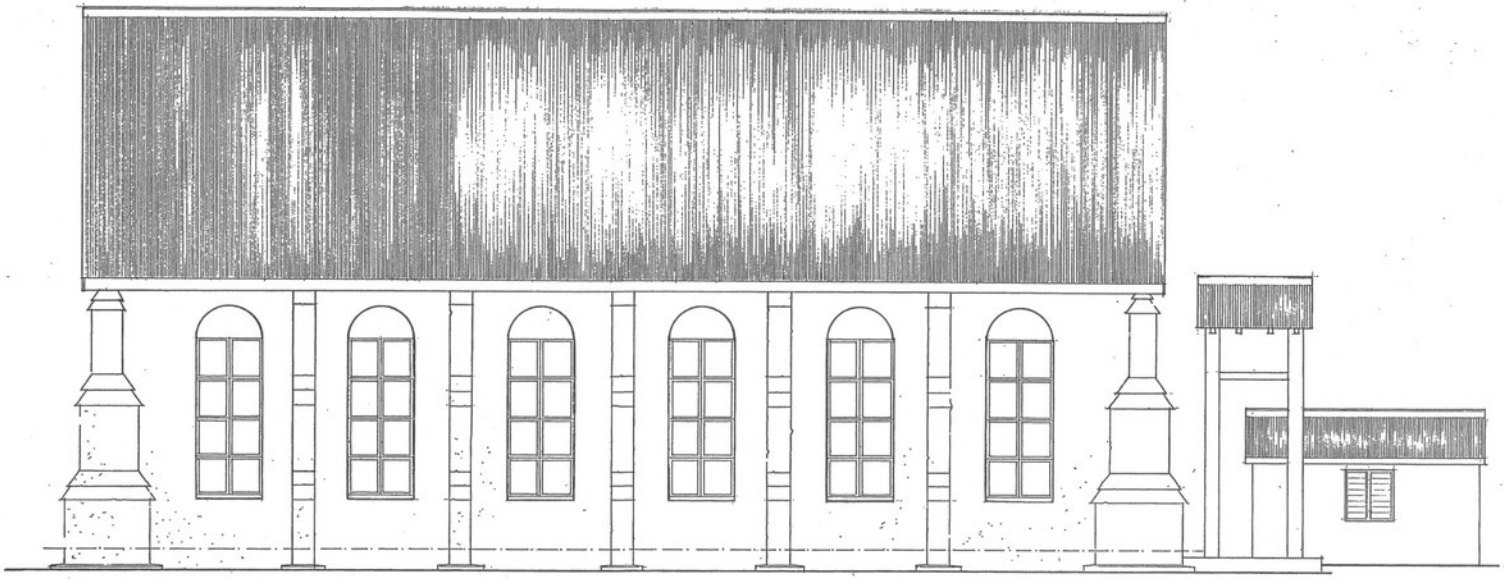
Itu = seventh
(seventh rangatira of Vietatei)

Floor Plan

scale 1:100

Salema
Oneroa Church
Mangaia
1891

Budgett 2005

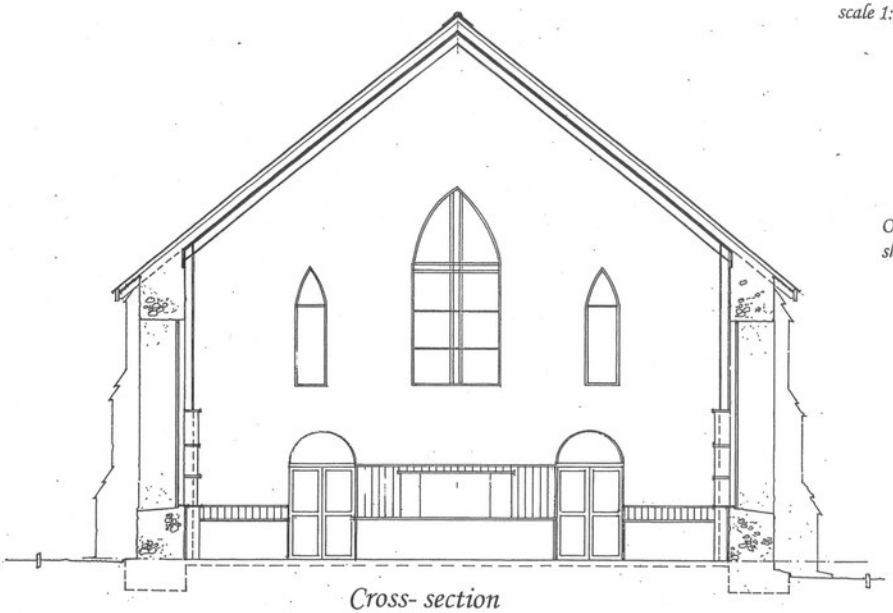


West Elevation

scale 1:100

Salema
Oneroa Church
Mangaia
1891

Budgett 2005



Cross- section

Original detail
shown dotted

North Elevation

(Above) the Oneroa Sunday school with scaffolding at left and the mission training centre bottom right, 1900. Note the long avenue of coconut palms; (below) group of women near the landing place with the mission compound at back (photo - Auckland Weekly News, 24 August 1900).

(Above) Gee Hickling and her daughter Wendy join the procession to church in the early years of World War II; (below) the mission compound in the 1940s with extensive planting of toa trees supplanting the coconut palms (photos; Hugh Hickling)

Oneroa Church, 1976 - note the finials above the end buttresses prior to their removal
(photo - Christian Clerk)

Orometua of the Oneroa Church

Orometua of the Oneroa Church

The word 'orometua'

The word 'orometua' refers to a religious leader, a missionary, a teacher, or one who instructs. In Tahiti, 'orometua' refers to an instructor of any sort, of religion, art or trade. [1] For much of the 19th century, Polynesian evangelists were referred to, in missionary writings, as 'native teachers' with the term 'orometua' reserved for foreign, mainly British, missionaries. Later in the 19th century, the application of the word 'orometua' to Polynesian teachers became more common. Writing in 1878, Rev. William Wyatt Gill observed from Rarotonga, that "In regard to our position as foreign missionaries there is a difference. Formerly teachers were 'taeke' (brethren); we only [foreign missionaries] were 'orometua' (full-blown reverends). Now teachers and missionaries are alike 'orometua' and, (as I heard Taeoa impress upon the minds of the Rarotongans) equally worth of esteem. We have not sunk, but they have been raised up to our level." [2] Taeoa was a kiato of the Anautoa clan of Tupapa and a 'native teacher' who campaigned for greater local control of the Rarotongan church and recognition of local teachers. Joe Grey in his *History of Rarotonga 1800 -1883* describes Taeoa and others' efforts, between 1870 and 1883, to indigenize the Christian church in the Cook Islands. He attributes the decision "that native teachers henceforth would be …alike orometuas or Rev'ds' equal to the white missionaries" [3] to a meeting between a Rarotongan delegation, led by Isaia Papeiha, and Atiuan church elders concerning the Atiu church's desire to appoint their own pastors.

Early evangelical visits to Oneroa and Mangaia

18 July 1823 - the ship *Endeavour* (renamed *Te Matamua*), Captain John Dibbs, appeared off Mangaia with Rev. John Williams and Rev. Robert Bourne. They were accompanied by Papeiha from Borabora, "The Young King of Aitutake and his wife, the Grandfather and his wife", Tamatoa ariki of Raiatea, six Rarotongans including Tepairu who had been kidnapped and taken to Aitutaki on the *Cumberland* in 1814, plus a number of evangelists intended for various other Cook Islands mission stations including Paumoana, Mataitai, Vahineino, Fanauara from Raiatea, Taua'a and his wife and Ha'avi and his wife from Taha'a.

15 June, 1824 - the ship *Endeavour* (Master, Captain Dacre) [4] carrying the London Missionary Society (LMS) deputation of Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, en route from Eimeo [Moorea] to Sydney, landed the Christian missionaries Davida and Tiere from Taha'a on Mangaia.

September, 1825 - Rev. Robert Bourne, the LMS pastor at Taha'a and Davida and Tiere's supervising missionary visited Mangaia on the brig *Haweis.*

11 January 1830 - Rev. George Platt visited Mangaia bringing the orometua Faaruea [Vaaruea] and his wife to support Davida.

31 May 1830 - Rev. John Williams and Rev. Charles Barff visited Mangaia.

22 October 1830 - Rev. John Williams and Rev. Charles Barff visited Mangaia.

1831? - Rev. John Williams, Rev. Aaron Buzacott, and Makea ariki of Rarotonga visited Mangaia bringing Havaire from Raiatea

1832 - Rev. John Williams visited Mangaia "in time to prevent a war between Heathen and Christian party"

1833 – Rev. John Williams visited Mangaia

1834 - Rev. Charles Barff and family with Rev. Aaron Buzacott visited Mangaia. Mrs. Barff was the first European woman to land on Mangaia. Rev. Barff and his wife were introduced to 700 church adherents. Barff formed the first church body at Oneroa (- see Aaron Buzacott and Charles Barff, *Voyage to Hervey Islands and Samoa*, SOAS, South Seas Journals 39 April – 6 August 1834, Box 7, File 104)

1835 - Rev. Charles Pittman visited Mangaia and, at the invitation of Vaaruea, opened the new Oneroa Chapel.

23- 25 August 1835 – Rev. George Platt and Mr. Wilson visited Mangaia en route to Rarotonga and the Navigator Islands (SOAS, South Seas journals, Box 8, File 110).

10 May 1837 - Rev. George Platt visited Mangaia

1838 – Initially Mangaia was an outstation of the London Missionary Society's Tahiti Mission. In 1838 Mangaia together with "the whole of the Hervey Islands" was placed "under the visitation and superintendence of the brethren residing on the Group" (Rev. William Gill, 28 July 1843, SOAS, SSL, Box16, Folder 4, Jacket B). Responsibility for the Mangaian pastorate was given to Maretu Tua'ivi of Ngatangiia.

4 March 1839 – Rev. John Williams visited Mangaia on the ship *Camden* and delivered Maretu Tua'ivi and his wife to minister at Oneroa.

Orometua who served at Oneroa

This list is drawn from London Missionary Society records and information on the memorial stone in the Oneroa churchyard. Unfortunately, the list remains incomplete.

1824 - 1844 - Davida from Taha'a

1824 - 1826 - Tiere from Taha'a

1828 - Davida was joined by the wife of the Aitutaki orometua Mataitai who had drifted to Mangaia in a canoe with a group of 16 Aitutakians.

1830 – c. 1839 - Faaruea and his wife from Raiatea.

I831 – c. 1840 - Havaire and his wife from Raiatea

1839 - 45 - Maretu Tua'ivi from Ngatangiia ministered at Oneroa. (During 1842-3 Maretu was in Rarotonga recovering from a wound. He reported that - "There are now three villages in Mangaia… All those who previously remained on their lands have now returned to the villages of Oneroa, Tamarua and Ivirua" (Maretu, 1983; 128).

1839 - Death of Vaaeruea (Maretu, 1983: 127).

1840 - Rupe from Avarua and his wife

1840 - Tangiia from Avarua

1841 – January - Rev Thomas Heath visited Mangaia.

1841 - Rev. William Gill and Mrs. Gill visited Mangaia (Gill, 1880; 102).

1842 - Rev. William Gill and Mrs. Gill visited Mangaia for a second time.

1842 - Pori from Arorangi arrived to assist Davida and Maretu (Maretu, 1983; 139; Gill, 1880; 173).

1843 - "When the ship left it took Rupe, Pori, Pakau and Katuke while Gill and his wife and I

stayed on Mangaia together with Tairi and his wife, Rota, Muritonga and Ngatae" (Maretu, 1983; 148; Gill, 1880; 97).

1843 - 45 – Tairi from Rarotonga served at Oneroa. William Gill noted - "Tairi the 'youthful convert, noticed some time ago in the "Chronicle,' who was left here [on Mangaia] by us, on our last visit, in charge of the school" (Gill, 1880; 172; Maretu, 1983;151). For an account of Tairi and his wife's subsequent deaths at Fate see *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine* (and Annual) Volume 12, 1855 pp. 251-3

1843 - Rev. and Mrs William Gill visited for six months –in November 1843 they returned to Rarotonga taking Davida and his family to Takamoa Theological College (Maretu,1983; 151).

1843 - Ngatae from Ngatangiia served as assistant to Maretu. Ngatae died on Mangaia during the epidemic of 1843. "A fatal epidemic was, about this time, brought to the island, and many of the natives were cut off in the prime of life. Among these was Ngatai, one of the teachers" (Gill, 1880; 141).

1844 - Davida retired from the ministry but remained on Mangaia with his wife and children in a house adjacent to the Oneroa church. (Davida "superannuated on account of his weakness" – George Gill, 26 March 1849. SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 2 Jacket A).

1845 - 29 July - Rev. George Gill and his wife Sarah Trego "and babies" arrived to take up the Oneroa appointment.

1845 - October - Maretu returned to Rarotonga having spent 6 years on Mangaia (1839- 45) Sadaraka was appointed as Rev. George Gill's assistant. (Rev. George Gill, 10 October 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 5, Jacket D).

1846 - Tumupu from Atiu was appointed to assist Rev. George Gill.

1849 - 21 February - Death of Davida and one of his children, following the death of his daughter on 11 February 1849. All three had caught influenza brought to the island by a whaling ship from Hawaii. (Rev. George Gill, 26 March 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder2 Jacket A).

1851 - Rev. George Gill and family left Mangaia for Rarotonga planning to return to England permanently.

1852 - Rev. George Gill directed to return to Mangaia by the LMS Directors in London.

1853 – July - Sadaraka moved to Oneroa to assist George Gill (Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, 6 Jan.1854, SOAS, SSL, Box 25, Folder 6, Jacket A).

1856 - Rev. George Gill still in post at Oneroa.

1857 - 59 – Raura'a from Mangaia was appointed to assist George Gill (Raura'a was dismissed in 1859 as "unequal to the proper discharge of the duties of his office.")

1857 - 7 April - Rev. George Gill moved to Rarotonga to take responsibility for the Institution at Takamoa.

1857 - Rev. W.W. Gill moved from Tamarua to Oneroa (see - Resolutions of a meeting held at Mangaia, 9 Feb. 1857, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 1, Jacket C).

1859 – Sadaraka returned to Oneroa from Tamarua.

1862 - Rev. W.W. Gill and family departed overseas on one year furlough.

1863 - 23 March – Rev. W.W. Gill and family returned from furlough.

1864 - Rev. W.W. Gill and Sadaraka, served as co-adjutors at Oneroa (see translation of letter from Sadaraka, Katuke and Teariki, 29 Dec. 1864, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket B).

1865 - Rev. W.W. Gill and Sadaraka continued as co-adjutors at Oneroa.

1871 - 25 April - Arrival of Rev George Alfred Harris and Mrs. Mary Ann Rhodes Harris.

1871 - 12 November – 28 December – Rev James Chalmers visited Mangaia for 7 weeks (see report in *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, 1872, pp. 426 - 7)

1872 - May – Rev. William Wyatt Gill departed Mangaia to take over the Institution at Takamoa in Rarotonga.

1872 - Rev. George Alfred Harris took charge at Oneroa assisted by Sadaraka.

1876 - Tuka, a Mangaian evangelist, recently returned from Samoa, was appointed to assist Rev. G. A. Harris. The aged Sadaraka continued to assist but in a reduced role. (Rev G. A. Harris, 4 May, 1876, SOAS, SSL, Box 35 Folder 1 Jacket C).

1878 - 14 January - death of Maretu Tua'ivi on Rarotonga.

1883 - Rev. G. A. Harris, planning his furlough in 1883, notified the LMS directors of his selection of the elderly Sadaraka to supervise the Oneroa church.

1883 - 21 November - Rev G A Harris left Mangaia on furlough (Rev. G. A. Harris, 23 October 1883, SOAS, Box 38 Folder 1 Jacket E).

1884 - Rev. William Nicol Lawrence arrived to minister at Oneroa assisted by Sadaraka. Prior to Lawrence's arrival, Tuka, Kakoua and Taurae, three returned Evangelists had, under the supervision of Sadaraka ministered at Oneroa (Rev. G. A. Harris 23 October 1883, SOAS, Box 38 Folder 1 Jacket E).

1885 - November – Rev. W. N. Lawrence departed Mangaia for a permanent posting at Aitutaki.

1886 - April - Rev. G. A. Harris returned to Mangaia.

1889 - 22 September - death of Sadaraka.

Aiteina?

1893 – Rev. G. A. Harris and family departed Mangaia.

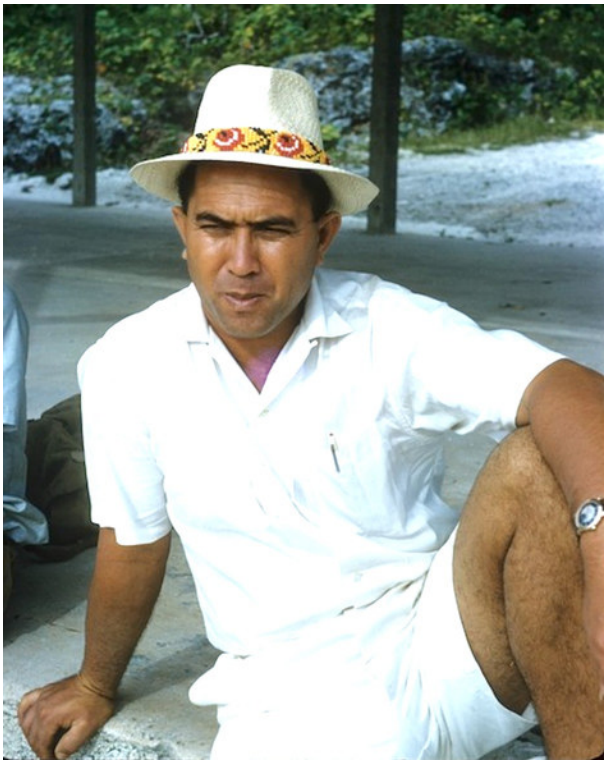
1894 - 1902 - Rev. James Harris Cullen and his wide and family served at Oneroa. In 1899 it was reported that Cullen was being assisted by Takapi at Oneroa *(Government Gazette* Monday 11 September 1899).

1902 - 1910 - 24 September - Rev. Bond James arrived to minister at Oneroa. Bond James and his wife Edith were resident at Mangaia from September 1902 – 1910 but spent September 1904 - 1906 on Rarotonga as principal at Tereora, making periodic visits to Mangaia as shipping permitted (for example, in January, June and September 1905).

1904 - It was recommended that Mate (1874 - 1954) who had been obliged to leave Takamoa in 1899, due to the misconduct of his wife, be readmitted. In the interim his wife had died and he had remarried the widow of Nia a former student (Minutes of Committee, Mission House, Takamoa, 13 September 1904, SOAS, SSL, File Box 48).

1905 - Rev. Mate and Mrs. Nia Mate (September - assistant minister during Rev. H. Bond James' absence as principal at Tereora, Rarotonga).

Clockwise from top left - Rev. Aiteina, the son of Mamae and principal informant to Te Rangi Hiroa, in the garden of the Residency, 1930 (Bishop Museum); Rev. Ngatupuna Pareina; Reverend William (Bill) Marsters, Mangaia, 1960 (photo - John Colles Burland, National Library of New Zealand, PA12-0513-08); Rev Tuaau and family, Mangaia 1954 (D. S. Marshall Archives, USP Cook Islands).



1913 – Rev. Takapi.

[missing information]

1926 - Rev. Tumupu Kea? “Having returned from Papua, on 9th December 1926 the family departed from Auckland for Rarotonga. They were appointed to the church at Oneroa, Mangaia. Another daughter, Muri Aroa, was born in Mangaia on 13 October 1928” (see Kevin and Mary Salisbury, 2023, *Tumupu Kea, Tere Orometua mei Atiu ki Papua: Celebrating 200 years of the Gospel in Nga Pu Toru)*

1934 - Rev. and Mrs. Ngaupoko Tuamotu Maki

1938 - 40 - Rev. and Mrs. Pureau from Atiu

1940 - 43 - Rev.Maki or Ra'a?

1943 - 1947 – Rev. Raui and Mrs. Rangi Pokoati from Mitiaro

1947 - 1950 – Rev. Robati and Mrs. Mehau Pa Robati Sema from Rakahanga.

1950 - 1956 - Rev. Tuaau and Mrs. Tuaau Paroro from Titikaveka

1956 - November 1956 - Rev. Ta Upu and Mrs. Pere Upu from Aitutaki

1956 - 63 – Rev. Bill and Mrs. Elizabeth Marsters from Palmerston

1963 - 68 – Rev. Taraariki and Mrs. Rangi Pitomaki from Aitutaki

1968 – 73 – Rev. Teui and Mrs. Nimerota from Mauke

1973 - 78 - Rev. Mangaara and Mrs. Teatuanui Makiiti from Mangaia

1979 - 84 – Rev. Ngatupuna and Mrs. Teinangaro Pareina from Mangaia

Rev. Tokoa and Mrs Emmy Amataiti from Mangaia

1984 - Rev. John and Mrs. Kimireva Tangirere from Mangaia

1988 – Rev. Temere and Mrs. Titera Poaru from Penrhyn

Rev. Mauta & Mrs Kite Tapaitau from Penryhn

Rev. Jubilee & Mrs Makirita Turama from Penryhn

Rev. Ngarametua and Mrs. Kimi Aratangi from Mangaia

Rev. Daniela and Mrs. Miriama Tuakeu from Aitutaki

Rev. Toko and Mrs. Ngari Ongoua from Mangaia

Rev. Bosini and Mrs. Neke William from Penrhyn

Rev. Tereapii and Mrs. Tepaeru Matakere from Mitiaro

Rev. Tereora and Mrs. Kura Tereora from Mitiaro

Rev. Daniela and Mrs. Mere Tuakeu from Aitutaki

Footnotes

[1] Davies, John, 1851, *A Tahitian and English Dictionary*…, London Missionary Society Press, Tahiti
[2] *Missionary Chronicles of the London Missionary Society*, 1878, pp. 96 - 101
[3] Grey, Joe, 1975, *A History of Rarotonga 1800 – 1883*, PhD thesis, University of Otago, p. 491
[4] This is the same ship that called at Mangaia in 1823. In the interim it had been sold by Williams in Sydney on behalf of its owners the “United Chiefs of the Leeward Islands” (Raiatea, Taha’a, Borabora and Maupiti).

Betela, Tamarua

(Oppopsite) - At the opening of the Tamarua church in 1891, Rev. G.A. Harris noted – "The two large windows in the gable ends with coloured glass bordering the frames, give it a very picturesque appearance. All the other windows & doors having the same kind of coloured borders, add much to the cheerfulness of the Chapel."

(Above) Tamarua Church exterior and (below) church interior (photo - Mimi Palome, 2009)

Chapter 9

Betela – the church at Tamarua

When the Ngatangiian evangelist Maretu arrived on Mangaia in 1839, Taooa, also known as Parima, the kavana of Tamarua, was living in Oneroa with a significant number of his people, having gathered there [’no’o tai’] in the 1820s to be close to the Church and mission school. [1] At Oneroa, Parima (1783 -1844) played a key role in ensuring the safety of the missionaries and of the ariki Numangatini. Parima is described in missionary literature as the ‘judge of all Mangaia.’ [2] Despite his ongoing absence from Tamarua, he remained pava until his death in 1844 when he was succeeded by his son Ngariu.

At the same time, a very large number of Tamaruans had returned to their planting lands in Tamarua, against the wishes of Parima but under the care of his younger brother Rakoia (1785 – 1865). Parima had made several efforts to get the Tamaruans to return to Oneroa but without success.

Despite concern that people returning to their planting lands might revert to heathenism, a small unofficial Christian group had existed in Tamarua from as early as 1830. Visiting Tamarua on Monday, 1 June 1830, the Rev. John Williams noted - “At one of the most populous settlements [3] on the opposite side of the Island they had regular services on the Sabbath and a School” (Moyle, 1984; 27). This situation must have continued through the 1830’s until an exodus from Oneroa later in the decade brought it to the attention of the mission. Rev. George Platt visited Mangaia in 1837 and observed – “A few have separated from the settlement [at Oneroa] and gone to reside at their own land but keep up their schools, and their prayer meetings.” [4]

Maretu records 40 Tamaruan church communicants living at Tamarua in 1839. [5] Regular church services were being held and the school was being taught by two local men, “Nukutere” and “Tumataurua.” [6]

Maretu described the Tamarua Christian community as keen to remain church members but also keen to remain on their lands. After a service of welcome -

> Teau stood up and said, ‘The words you speak are true indeed… I was chased away by the mother [*tinana*], the mother who eats her young [*tinana kai punua*]. I was deserted by the mother but Jesus, the Searcher, has not just forgotten me, for we know he is still looking for

> us. Let us return to Jesus who is sorrowing for us, and has sent his representative among us here in Mangaia to explain his love for us. Let us stay here, friend. A man who has a pleasing voice will make the people happy to listen to him. There are 600 people here in Tamarua to feed you. I agreed that you should stay here. Don't drag us along to Oneroa but let us stay here in Tamarua. We'll feed you all' (Maretu, 1983; 118).

It was agreed that the people would stay at Tamarua on condition that "you allow the two missionaries to come here every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday to conduct prayers for you and to preach a sermon to you every Sunday" (Maretu, 1983; 119).

> "I agree friend," said Rakoia who was Parima's younger brother and *mataiapo* [*pava*] of Tamarua district. "But if you say that we are to return to Oneroa, that is bad talk."

According to Rakoia, "It is two and a half years since I returned here to Tamarua" indicating that the return from Oneroa to Tamarua had occurred in 1836 at the latest (Maretu, 1983; 119).

The reasons for the Tamarua people's preference to remain in Tamarua under Rakoia included the distance from Oneroa to their planting lands ("We want to remain here [in Tamarua] so we are near to our *paka* and *mamio*" (Maretu, 1983; 115); factionalism among groups loyal to particular native Evangelists and their wives at Oneroa ("We'll just stay here [in Tamarua] where we won't have any more trouble. If you fetch us back, we'll only fight again" - Maretu, 1983; 117) and perhaps for some, a conscious decision to return to their old ways (Maretu, 1983; 115) ("they don't pray to God" (Maretu, 1983; 117); "at Tamarua, they were heathens.") [7]

The numbers at Tamarua may have increased when trouble broke out at Oneroa in the late 1830s and many people "returned to their lands" (Maretu, 1983; 101). The source of the problem was an accusation of adultery by Havaire (who had come from Raiatea with Williams in 1831) against fellow Evangelist Vaaruea (also from Raiatea brought by Platt in January 1830).

> Havaire got angry and ran away to Tamarua. Some of the people followed him back to their lands in Tamarua. The *ariki* and *mataipo* went to persuade Havaire to return but he wouldn't. The Tamarua people also remained on their lands and would not return to the village [Oneroa] (Maretu, 1983; 101).

Subsequently, at Maretu's insistence, Havaire returned to Oneroa but "his followers would not come back" (Maretu, 1983; 103).

> Davida and Vaaruea said, "They will not listen to us. They threatened to kill us because they

said it was our fault that Havaire was sent to court [for adultery].

The Christian party "even tied people with hibiscus fibre ropes and carried them back to [Oneroa] village on litters. They stayed a while but when Sunday was over, they went back to their lands and refused to come back" (Maretu, 1983; 117).

Having agreed on an official church at Tamarua, Numangatini asked the puna leaders -

Ka apai ratou i ta ratou Evangeria i'ia?
Ka apai ratou i ta ratou Evangeria i runga i to ratou ua, mei tei oti e ka riro teia ei Tama 'U'a na ratou.

Where will they take their Gospel?
They will take their Gospel on their shoulders (ua) as finalized and this will be their Tama 'U'a (child of their lap). [8]

Rev. Vaka Ngaro writes –

Kua maru mai oki reira te aereanga o te iti tangata Tamarua ki Oneroa, pera katoa ta ratou nga maunga e kake ana, koia Tukokino e Maoake. Kua akatuia oki te are pure mua ki runga i te marae ko Tukii. Kare rai oki i tae meitaki i roto i te oire tikai, inara kua vaitata mai te iti tangata i te aere ki te pure. Kia tae te Evangelia ki Tamarua kua kimiia e koai te Orometua te ka tano ei tiaki i te reira Ekalesia (Ngaro, 1989; 19).

The church at Tuki'i

Once it was officially approved and supported by the main church at Oneroa, the Tamarua church began to expand. Rev. William Gill and Mrs. Gill visited the Tamarua church between Friday 25 June 1841 and Tuesday 29 June 1841 and again from Saturday 19 July to Wednesday 14 July, 1841 [9] and reported –

Tamarua, up to this time [1841] had not had a resident teacher; those [teachers] living in Oneroa had alternately visited it for school instruction and Sabbath-day services; the whole population [of 500 [10]], however, was professedly Christian; very many had been baptized, and seventy persons had been admitted to communion with the church at Oneroa. These were now desirous to have a teacher of their own, and to be settled at their own station (Gill, 1856; 146).

In his autobiography Rev.William Gill recalls–

> I questioned them as to their desire to be separated from the church at Oneroa, and settled at their own station; and finding them unanimous, it was arranged that henceforth they should observe the ordinances of the Christian Church among themselves: four of the most active, pious, and intelligent men were then selected to act as deacons. After distributing a few hymn-books, we commended this infant church to the gracious presence and blessing of the Saviour, and dispersed (Gill, 1880; 96).

Gill arranged that Rupe [11] from the Native Institution, Rarotonga should be appointed orometua for Tamarua and Ivirua. Rupe was the son of Tapairu Ariki of Rarotonga and one of the chiefs of Aitutaki. He arrived on Mangaia with Maretu in June 1841 and was appointed at a special ceremony on 14 July 1841. [12]

When Rev. William Gill asked Maretu for his opinion on the suitability of Rupe's appointment to Tamarua, Maretu replied, "Send for Parima," I suggested, "and discuss it with him as he is the mataiapo of that district" [Tamarua]. When Parima arrived, the missionary asked, "What do you think about Rupe? Do you agree that he should go to Tamarua?"

> "You felt sorry for them [the Tamarua people]," Parima replied, "so you take him there yourself. I have nothing further to say about it. It's up to you. We went to get them but they refused to come near us, though since his [Maretu's] arrival they have become tamer. I agree with the proposal but I'm not going to live inland. We'll stay in this village. You go and get them, then you can ask them personally to accept their missionary" (Maretu, 1983; 130).

William Gill reported there was already in 1841 "a newly-finished lime-built house of prayer" located inland in a "long valley... full of cultivated taro patches and shaded with old and young cocoa-nut trees" (Gill, 1856;147)

According to Mrs. Gill -

> At this village we were much pleased with the neat chapel; it reminded me of some country place of worship in England. I could scarcely feel convinced that we were indeed in a land where, but a few years ago, the inhabitants were all heathen (Gill, 1880: 99 – 100).

Mrs. Gill may have been describing the first church at Tuki'i. Maretu describes the construction of this church in early 1840 –

> The people of Tamarua now wanted to build their own church. Coral lime was burnt and the

> church built. It measured 20 [fathoms]. They built it hurriedly in case the mission ship returned [13] before it was completed. We made windows and doors and when completed we burnt some more lime for the flooring and for the finishing touches to the building. The building was not quite completed when Davida and I selected those to be admitted to the church and those for baptism (Maretu, 1983;127).

During the Gill's visit, "The schools at this station [Tamarua] next engaged our attention. The adult school numbered 200, and the children's school 250; and here again we felt the want of more books" (Gill, 1856; 148). Mrs. Gill reported "only one girl and six boys could read" (Gill, 1880:100).

The church at Tangiaruru

In 1843 Rev. William Gill visited Tamarua again and reported -

> Our pathway [to Tamarua in 1843] lay over barren hills and narrow fertile valleys… As we entered one of these long valleys, full of cultivated taro patches, and shaded with young and old cocoa-nut trees, we saw at a little distance a newly-finished lime-built house of prayer… The chapel was large, and pleasantly situated on a rising eminence in the valley… (Gill, 1856; 146-7).

This was possibly the church at Tangiaruru.

At some point the evangelist Havaire had left Mangaia but later returned and travelled to Tamarua where he challenged Rupe's right to preach to the people and was supported by Teau and Anauapou as Tamarua's new teacher. "The police were sent to get Havaire but he refused to come, thus angering the mataiapo [Rakoia] and the church and Parima. Still, he refused to come." Subsequently, Havaire and his wife were expelled from the church (his wife having been found guilty of adultery with her servant) and Teau and Anauapou were asked to apologize for supporting Havaire (Maretu, 1983; 133-4).

In 1843, a replacement was needed for Rupe who had returned to Rarotonga. Tairi from Arorangi went to Tamarua one week and Rota from Arorangi went the following week then Ngatae from Ngatangiia. The Tamarua people preferred Ngatae but he refused to stay on Mangaia. Eventually Rakoia and Tereavai agreed to accept Rota (Maretu, 1983; 150). According to William Gill, Rota was "the deacon from our church at Arorangi whom I left here [Mangaia] on our last visit to the island." [14]

Rota was the son of Paenui and Tutuenua and Paenui was the son of Te Pa Atua Kino Makea of Rarotonga. Rota remained at Tamarua from 1843 – 45.

When Rev. William Gill visited Tamarua in 1845, he reported that Rota's presence has done much to bring peace to Tamarua –

> Tamarua had been a troublesome station, but now love was reigning in their midst, and where love was there must be peace. Our brother deacon, Rota, whom 'Miti Gilo' left at Tamarua two years ago [1843], was a good man, and the word he had preached had been like a strong hurricane, which levels to the ground all that opposes it. He said, the heart of the church was sore every day with weeping after Rota… (Gill, 1880:173).

Parima, kavana of Tamarua, living at Oneroa, died in 1844 and was succeeded by his son Ngariu.

In 1845, Rota returned to Rarotonga. Rev. William Gill reported - "We have now placed an excellent young man there who has been three years and a half in the institution, Rarotonga." This was Tangiia, a senior student in the Takamoa Institution. [15]

Tangiia was appointed in 1845 and was married to Miriama at Oneroa on 20 August 1845 (Gill, 1880; 169). The early months of Tangiia's residence, was marked by "a great revival in the schools" at Tamarua (Gill, 1880:173). But later Tangiia contracted lung disease [16] and despite treatment in Oneroa, died in May 1846.

In the same month May 1846, a hurricane destroyed the Tamarua church and a temporary replacement was erected while people concentrated on rebuilding their food gardens (Gill, 1856: 187).

1847 – Tamarua village moves to a higher location

In 1847, Tamarua village was moved to a higher location. [17]

> The inland station Tamarua was formerly located around the swampy and unhealthy course of water passing through the Taro patches. It is now removed to a more healthy spot originally suggested to the people by [Rev. John] Williams. A temporary chapel has been erected there and a dwelling house for the Native Teacher. The people are now removing their houses to the new settlement which we hope to arrange in a neat and healthy manner. The people of this village are very solicitous for a European missionary. I have told them your

> reply and they say “Write again! Ask again!” The Governor of the settlement said to me last month, “Write again and ask the Society how much property we shall send to England to buy a missionary?” for he said, with great energy, “I think we can buy him and feed him and pay him.” [18]

In January 1847 Anania from Atiu and his Rarotongan wife (who had both previously served at Tau and at Olosega, in the Manu’a Islands of Samoa [19]) were appointed to Tamarua. The kavana Ngariu opposed Anania’s appointment having, as noted, requested a European teacher.

Anania was only accepted following intervention by the deacons of the island’s three churches. Ngariu was deposed as kavana and his uncle Rakoia appointed in his place.

Anania died on 30 September 1848. A month later, on 23 October 1848, the deacons of the Tamarua church accepted Sadaraka, a deacon from Oneroa, as their orometua. Sadaraka served at Tamarua from 1848 – 1853, subsequently moving to Oneroa as assistant to Rev. George Gill.

In October 1849, when the work of relocating Tamarua village had been completed, preparations began for the construction of a new stone chapel. Rev. George Gill reported –

> At Tamarua the church and class members are at this moment making very active preparations in the burning of lime and felling of wood for the erection of their new Chapel in the centre of their new settlement.… [20]

On 1 January 1850, the foundation stone was laid for the new Church -

> On the 1st inst.[January] in connection with the usual services observed by the 3 churches……we laid the foundation stone for a new Stone Chapel at one of the settlements (Tamarua). The building is to be 80 ft long; 30 ft wide & 12 ft high – we are now therefore busily engaged upon it and hope that long before the vessel returns it will be finished. [21]

A letter from Rev. George Gill, dated 22 November 1850, [22] confirmed the construction and near completion of the new Tamarua chapel.

> When we had completed the chapel for the principal village where we reside, our tools were very inferior & many indeed perfectly useless and our stock of nails especially of the larger ones quite exhausted. It was for these reasons that I endeavoured to persuade the people not to commence the building until the return of the [Missionary] Barque but they were overruled by the willingness of the people to commence forthwith. Lime and wood were immediately prepared and the first stone for the Chapel at Tamarua was laid in connection with the usual

services of our people on New Year's day. It was thought to be an appropriate occasion in which to vow before our God to rear an alter for his praise … After the services … we adjourned to the site of the intended chapel. The old Governor [Rakoia] and Deacons connected with that village laid the foundation stone. In a short time the work was apportioned off for the respective districts and the work progressed with great rapidity… In the month of February [1850] similar services and arrangements were made for the village at Ivirua and the work has been prosecuted with similar alacrity and willingness. These chapels are not of course as large as that built at Oneroa - that at Tamarua is 72 ft long & 40 ft wide and that at Ivirua 60 ft long and 30 ft wide. As the buildings have been carried on simultaneously my time has been fully occupied with the necessary direction and superintendence of the work and this I am gratified to say has been accomplished without any disarrangement of our classes and school at Oneroa... We propose D.V. [23] to hold the opening services for the Chapel at Tamarua on the 1st of January next. Both chapels [Tamarua and Ivirua] are now just completed, our sincere hope is that they may be preserved against the strong winds & gales to which we are more or less subject every year. It is often very discouraging to us and to our people to think that as soon as we have completed the chapels and school houses they may be laid in ruins in a very few hours. On the other hand however we would feel encouraged in the prospect of the New Year to find our villages in the possession of their houses of prayer which since the hurricane of 1846 we have so much needed...

In April 1852, Rev. George Gill described the opening of the new Tamarua Chapel, made of stone, and with three roofs -

On last New Year (1851) we held services in connection with the opening of the New Chapel at Tamarua. The 3 villages respectively are now provided with good and as far as our skill and materials will allow substantial buildings for the worship of God. We must now rest awhile from these mechanical and physical labours and give the people opportunity to attend to their respective plantations of food for in this barren and rocky island great and almost constant care must be paid to cultivation. We shall hope at a future and suitable period to begin the erection of School Houses for the growing necessities and future benefit of the young... [24]

A decision was also made in October last (1851) by the Tamarua church members to build a new house for the native Teacher and also to prepare the materials for the erection of the new School House there but the people wished the School House to be begun forthwith and they resolved to put their Teachers house in good repair by rethatching etc etc & in certain parts to put new flooring and to postpone the new House for the Teacher until they had finished the school. The repairs were completed in Novr and having prepared lime etc for the school the

> first stone was laid on the 24 Jany 1852. At the present time the works have progressed to the thatching of the roof and the first plastering and I expect that by August or Sepr next it will be completed. [25]

In March 1852, the Rev. Aaron Buzacott visited Mangaia on his return from England after six years there preparing the Rarotongan Bible for publication. Buzacott noted in his Journal -

> Was very much pleased with the appearance of the station at Oneroa. Visited the Inland stations Ivirua & Tamarua, very much enjoyed the beautiful scenery as we passed through the country. The Gents had 2 horses between 4. The ladies were all carried in chairs. The 2 villages are in a very interesting condition, the sites having been removed to more eligible & healthy spots, good stone chapels being completed at each & good stone school houses nearly finished. [26]

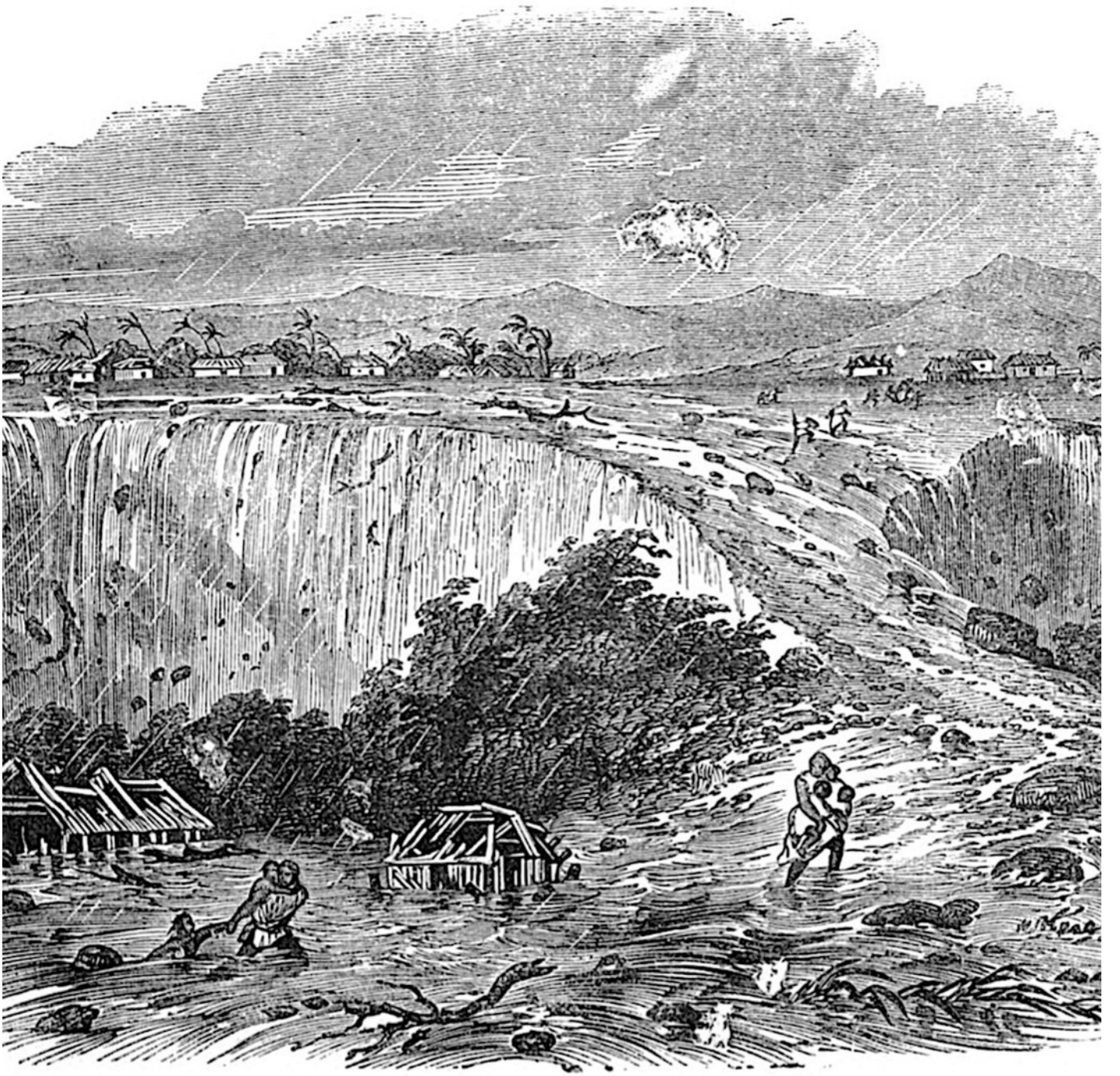
Buzacott was accompanied by Rev. William Wyatt Gill (1828 – 96) and his wife Mary Layman Harrison (1830 – 83) who were to take up residence at Tamarua -

> After a wetting in crossing the reef we all got ashore. The first thing that struck me was the large [Oneroa] Chapel and the comfortable and altogether creditable dwelling in which I am now writing [Oneroa Mission House]... Next day several of us set off with Mr. Buzacott to see the inland villages … We found in each village a substantial stone chapel and a school house in preparation. I suppose 600 were present at one village chapel and 800 at the other. In the largest of these villages, Tamarua, I am eventually to labour. [27]

Wyatt Gill wrote of Tamarua that “he could hardly realize the fact that they [the Tamarua people] had been in former years nurtured in superstition and idolatry; during the first year of his labours, seven members were admitted to the village church and six went to the Rarotonga Institution, for the education of native teachers” (Gill, 1856; 191).

On 19 October 1852, Rev. William Wyatt Gill reported from his new post at Tamarua –

> We have recommenced the School House. It will be completed in a few days and will accommodate about 300 people. It is a neat stone edifice. A considerable portion of the work was done before we arrived on the island. For some time after we came here the work was discontinued in order that the taro plantations might be properly weeded and planted for the following season. The School House is very creditable to the taste and skill of the natives who have scarcely any tools beside the saw and the hammer. As soon as it is opened we hope to repair immediately the flooring and the roof of our Chapel which greatly needs attention. A small amount of ironmongery would be exceedingly useful as buildings in this climate so



Tamarua rain storm, February 1854 (from Gill, 1856; 193)

> rapidly decay. All the suitable nails, etc in our possession have of course been most cheerfully given for the School House but unfortunately did not prove sufficient.

On 12 January 1853, Rev. W. W. Gill reported – "New School House at Tamarua finished and Chapel repaired." [28] The three joined roofs of the chapel made leaks a recurrent problem.

In July 1853, Sadaraka was transferred from Tamarua to assist the Rev. George Gill at Oneroa. [29]

Three Roofs Give Way To One

In February 1854 -

> A rain-storm… deluged the low grounds of [Rev. W. Wyatt Gill's] station [at Tamarua]. At midnight, a mountain torrent swept through the village, situated on the upper ridge of the island; and rushing down to the plantations in the valleys, devastated the whole of the district (Gill, 1856; 191-2).

In August 1854, Rev. Wyatt Gill wrote -

> About two months ago we commenced the extensive repairs needed by our chapel. Those affected in 1852 were comparatively trifling. A new flooring, pillars to sustain the roof, and gutters were found to be necessary. The primary evil in all our native chapels is the impossibility of obtaining gutters that will stand a tropical sun and tropical rains. I rejoice to be able to say that the heaviest part of the work was completed before the Epidemic had prostrated our people. I entertain hopes of being able to reopen our chapel before the close of the year. Last week I was so fortunate as to have an opportunity of purchasing nails from a vessel for the pulpit, seats, etc of the chapel. [30]

In 1855 the church received "a considerable quantity of zinc to line the gutters of our chapel. This we owe to the liberality and kindness of a few friends at Sydney… For the first time since we have been on this island, we have a dry chapel in which to assemble for the worship of God." [31]

Six years later, in 1861, more substantial alterations were made to the chapel to deal with the island's climate, in particular replacement of the Chapel's three roofs with a single roof over the same span –

> In September last the people of Tamarua completed the needful alterations of their chapel. The three roofs have given place to one, in order to avoid the necessity for gutters – that great drawback to Polynesian chapels. You are well aware that the roofs of our public buildings are always unceiled for the sake of ventilation. For the chapel at Tamarua each pillar, beam and rafter is beautifully ornamented with cinnet. The effect is very unique and pleasing. I fear however that in consequence of the great width of the chapel, the roof is not very strong for lack of long spikes to secure the principal timbers. Being visited with a second year of drought, the feast usually held in May was deferred until the completion of the repairs of the chapel at Tamarua. Accordingly on October 17th [1860] the chapel was reopened (the repairs had occupied 6 months) by holding our usual Missionary services in it. Feasting followed. [32]

In 1857, following Rev. William Wyatt Gill's transfer to Oneroa, Sadarka returned to Tamarua as orometua and remained there until 1859 when he returned to minister in his home village of Oneroa.

'Betela' at Te Ata Ao

At some point, after the floods of 1854 and the renovations to the Church in 1860, the church moved to its current makatea site at Te Ata Ao. Rev. Vaka Ngaro dates this to 1863 –

> I te mataiti 1863, kua teke mai te Evangelia ki roto tikai i te oire i runga tikai i te makatea. Kua akatu oki i to ratou are pure ki runga i te marae ko Teatao (Dawn) (1989; 20).

Three years later –

> On March 27, 1866, a fearful cyclone devastated the island, unroofing the churches at Oneroa and Tamarua, destroying two hundred and sixty-eight houses and uprooted two thousand cocoa-nut trees. The sea rose more than thirty feet above its ordinary level…… For exactly twenty years the island had been happily exempt from such visitations…In the same month of the following year (1867) there was another hurricane which …did far less damage as the natives had time to secure their dwellings with wild vine ropes of immense strength. In March 1869, a third hurricane occurred…(1876;105-6)

Following the hurricanes of 1866, 1867 and 1869 the Tamarua church underwent reconstruction again from 1875-1876. [33]

The year 1865 saw the death of two significant leaders of the Ekalesia – the kavana Rakoia and

the oldest serving deacon Tereavai, former leader of the tutae ‘auri. Rev. William Wyatt Gill wrote –

> Rakoia was one of the first to embrace Christianity; and until his death, in 1865, I never saw anything inconsistent with his profession as a disciple of Jesus. He was a faithful friend to the missionaries, and his last intelligent words were addressed to me expressive of his hope. At the period of his death he was about eighty years of age. He had fought in four pitched battles, besides several minor engagements. He was accounted the best poet of his day (1894; 303).

Of Tereavai, the former priest of Te Aio and longest serving deacon of the church, Gill writes in *Myths and Songs* (1876; xix) that –

> A large portion of what is contained in this volume was derived from Tereavai... Nothing but the cordial reception of the new faith could have induced Tereavai to yield up to the stranger the esoteric teachings of the priestly clan.

In April 1871, Rev. George Harris and his wife Mary Ann Rhodes spent four months at Tamarua, occupying the new and substantial plastered and thatched Mission House. Rev. William Wyatt Gill, who continued to preside over the main mission station at Oneroa, described the new Tamarua Mission House as -

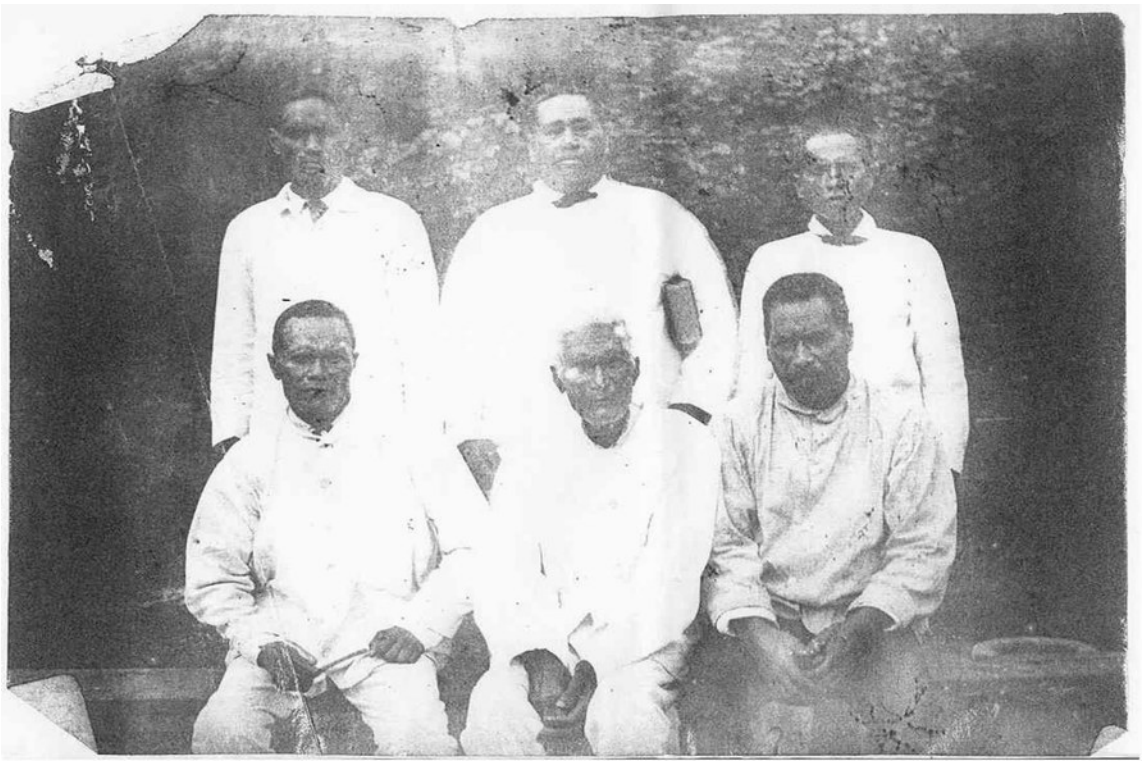
> a very neat and substantial edifice… It would have been larger but for the extreme difficulty of procuring soft coral for burning lime on that part of the island. The central room is used as a place of meeting for the deacons and Native Pastors; also for a select class of girls etc etc. In my frequent Sabbath visits to Tamarua, I take up my temporary abode in the new stone house, which is the only one in the village! [34]

In 1872 the Rev. James Chalmers (‘Tamate’) spent a week at Tamarua and reported –

> At Tamarua, the native pastor [Koreiti] is a young man. He and his wife spent some time on Lifu and were compelled to leave by the French. We were very much pleased with them both. They are good earnest workers, seeking anxiously to lead the people to Christ... This settlement is not so well laid out as Ivirua but the mission house and church are much prettier. [35]

Koreiti had replaced Teariki as Tamarua pastor, Teariki having been dismissed in 1871 for immoral conduct. Koreiti, aged around 35 years, had previously worked at Lifu in the Loyalty Islands [New Caledonia], but had been expelled by the French. [36]

(Above) The padanus thatched Tamarua Mission House, built 1871 – it was the Harris Family home for four months in 1871 ; (below) Mangaian deacons pre 1893 (photos - Bussanich Collection).



In July, 1875, the Rev G.A Harris reported -

> the people of our inland village Tamarua are beginning to carry their intention of rebuilding their chapel in imitation of ours at Oneroa….they have been laboriously employed in making a large quantity of coconut oil and arrowroot to purchase foreign wood and materials. The idea has originated entirely among themselves and they have resolved to have a very beautiful place to worship, better if possible that the one we have recently rebuilt at Oneroa. [37]

The substantially renovated church was opened on Wednesday 8 March 1876. The aged ariki Numangatini attended along with "the whole of the land." Rev. George Harris read from the 9th verse of Psalm 122 – "Because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek thy good."

> Except the walls it is an entire new building. Outside perhaps it looks more substantial than picturesque but the inside is exceedingly neat and pretty. In the pulpit I have almost imagined myself in a home [English] church. Like our Oneroan Church it has fine tamanu pillars bought of the Maute [Mauke] people. The flooring, windows and doors have all been purchased from the ships. It has cost the Tamarua people a very large sum of money. [38]

The 1876 church must have been renovated or rebuilt around 1887 because, describing the impact of the hurricane of 2 - 5 January 1888 [39], Rev. George Harris writes *"the new chapel at Tamarua*,with zinc roofing and tamanu posts, is an entire wreck, the high gable end of one side having fallen in, and the entire roof, post, and woodwork smashed to pieces." (*Chronicle of the LMS*, July 1888). Work began on a new stone building (Gill, 1894; 338). The new chapel – the one still standing today - was opened on 1 January, 1891 as recounted by the Rev. Harris -

> The first day of this year [1891] Mrs. Harris, myself & family went to Tamarua, one of our inland villages, to open the new Chapel which the people have there erected. Three years ago [1888] the old building suffered so severely from the hurricane, which then visited the island, that it was found necessary to rebuild the whole structure. Poverty & long continued scarcity of food have delayed them from finishing it sooner. It is built of lime and stone and has a thatched roof with ornamental plaited sinnet covering all the woodwork of the interior. It is both a substantial & neat building. The two large windows in the gable ends with colored glass bordering the frames, give it a very picturesque appearance. All the other windows & door having the same kind of coloured borders, add much to the cheerfulness of the Chapel. As an invitation had been sent to all the congregations on the island to be present on the occasion, we found the place packed & a large number of the natives waiting outside who could not possibly find admittance. Native teachers and deacons took part in the service, the preaching of the sermon devolving on me …. There was of course, after the service, the usual

> feast of native food & pork. There was not however much native food to divide out beyond pigs, as the land had not yet recovered itself from the hurricane & the severe drought which followed it. [40]

It is said that the new Church at Tamarua stood beside the old church and both were near to the house of the kavana (now a ruin). The mission house is at Raupa.

Eight years after the church opened, the sills of the large triangular gable end windows were lowered by 1200mm and the window openings reduced. This followed several instances of the windows being blown in during strong winds, as *Te Karere* reported in October 1899 -

> The church at Tamarua was reopened on August 20th [1899], after reroofing and general renovation. The work reflects credit on the native carpenters, especially when it is borne in mind that the kind of work was quite new to them. The roof is neatly lined with V-jointed kauri and varnished; the black rafters ornamented with sennit work, being left exposed. The large windows in the gables have been considerably reduced in size, as they were too big to withstand the strong winds often experienced on that side of the island, and have more than once been blown in. Doors and windows have been repainted and the building whitewashed inside and out. There are many places in England that would be glad to have such a place of worship. [41]

At the time the Tamarua orometua was Kaokao.

The renovated church of 1899 was re-roofed using timber and iron purchased from Sydney. Prior to this the church had been thatched with pandanus which, although considered cool and airy, required constant renewal. [42]

On 14-15 January 1905, fourteen years after the new Church's opening, a hurricane hit the island. The New Zealand Resident Agent on Mangaia, Major J. T. Large reported – "Church at Tamarua … damaged … about a third or fourth of the roof being stripped off." [43]

In the 1935, the church was again thatched in pandanus for want of the funds to purchase iron. [44]

The current church is described by the architect Jeanette Budgett as –

> a gable-ended, whitewashed, coral rubble stone building measuring approximately 22 metres by 13 metres. Four half-round arched windows are evenly spaced along the long elevations and two sets of doors are placed in the symmetrically composed end elevations under

triangular headed windows. The ridge of the building runs parallel to the road. The sanctuary end of the church (with *are' oroa* and bell tower attached) faces north east and towards the pastor's house.

Tamarua is the only church to have retained its original aisled timber posts and beams with sennit lashing. The 4-braid lashing pattern evenly covers the rafters, tie beams and arcade plate in an open lozenge pattern that closely resembles the *Te puta O Te Ikatuna* (the hole of Te Ikatuna) described by Hiroa/Buck, 1944; 45). Hiroa tells us this design was traditionally used to cover the purlins. The braid is widely spaced to produce open square lozenges. Less braid is used and one might speculate why this technique was used over all the timberwork without distinguishing among members.

The successively diminishing tamanu post sections are articulated at the junction with tripartite carved 'sleeve' facings that conceal the join. These jointed members may indicate that shorter timbers were recycled from the previous Tamarua church. (Tamanu posts were traditionally sourced from Mauke at significant cost following the destruction of tamanu trees on Mangaia after the arrival Christianity) [45] The carving shows the 'double K' motif seen, for example, in ceremonial Mangaian adzes.

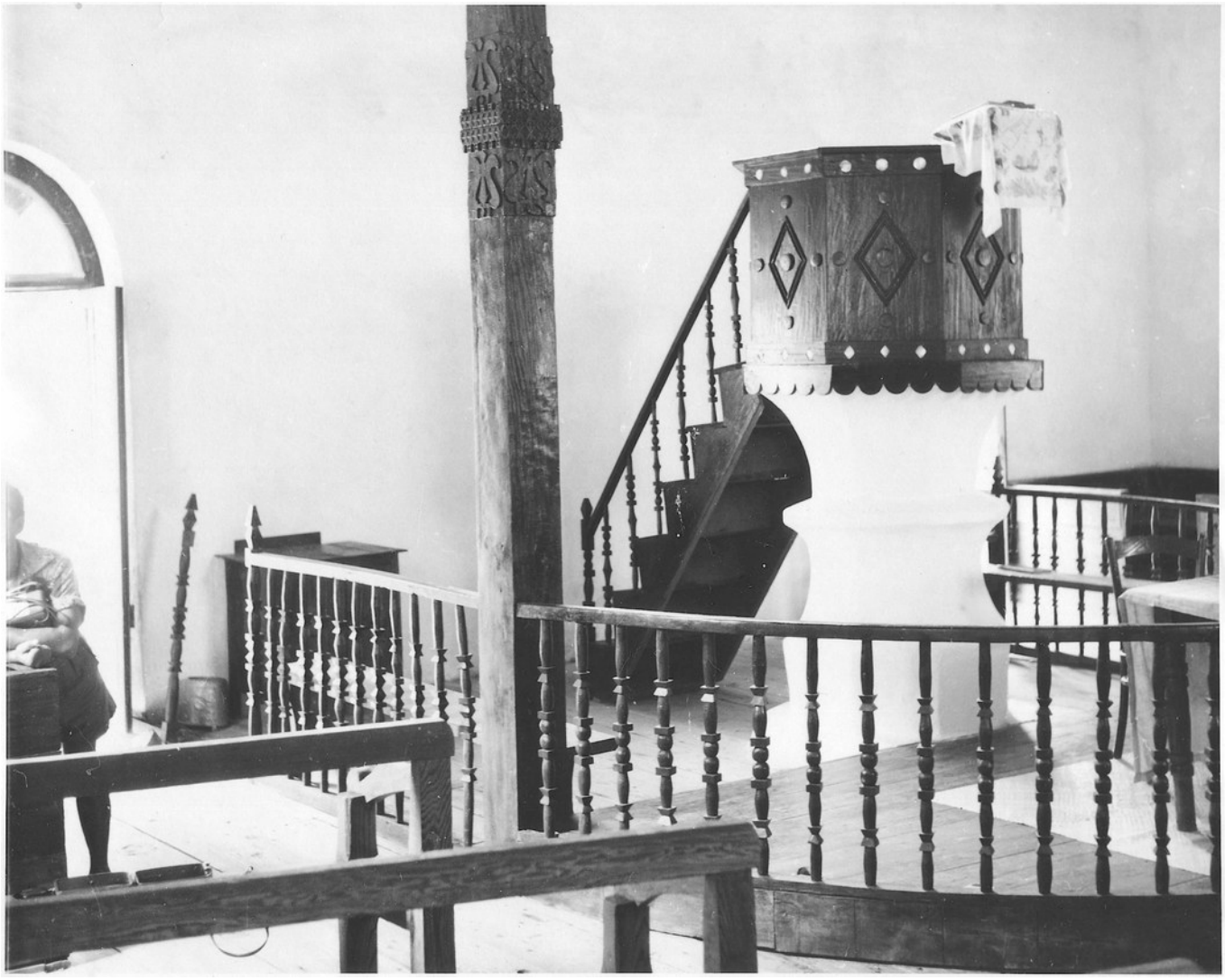
Footnotes

[1] A December 1854 census notes that the number of Tamaruans remaining at Oneroa, even after Parima's death, was 143 compared to the 634 then living at Tamarua.
[2] See for example Maretu, 1983; 104
[3] Tamarua is frequently referred in the early missionary literature as "the second village of importance on the island" (Gill, 1856: 146) while Ivirua had a smaller population.
[4] George Platt, *A Journal of a Voyage to the Navigators or Samoa… 6 February 1837 - 25 May 1837*, SOAS, South Seas Journals, File 114, Box 8
[5] Memorial stones in the Tamarua graveyard date the arrival of the Gospel in Tamarua at 1842 but Maretu suggests an earlier date of 1837. Williams found a Christian grouping in Tamarua in 1830.
[6] Maretu, 1983; 119. The church members would have included the many Tamaruans who left Oneroa to follow the orometua Havaire when he fled to Tamarua after being accused of adultery with the wife of the orometua Vaaruea (Maretu, 1983; 101).
[7] Maretu, speaking of the state of Mangaia on his first arrival; quoted in Gill, 1880; 175
[8] Or in another version – "Teia te uianga a Numangatini kia raua, "Ka apai korua i tau Evangelia i'ia? Teia ta raua i pa'u atu "Ka apai maua ki runga i to maua 'u'a." Kua manuia ta

raua paunga no te mea kua tano ki to Numangatini manako. No reira i rauka mai ei te tuatua tamaua." (Ngaro, 1989; 19)
[9] See Gill, 1880: 96 and 99 for a description of Tamarua in 1841.
[10] Gill, 1856; 156
[11] For details of Rupe see Maretu, 1983: 129
[12] Gill,1880:102 William Gill, 1880; 130 writes of Rupe – "Tapairu, a woman of the royal blood of Rarotonga, being at the time a heathen, landed, about the year 1820, among the heathen people of Aitutaki. Her rank introduced her to the families of the chiefs, to one of whom she became wife. Rupe, her son, was born just about the time Papeiha was received by the people; it was his privilege to be instructed in his childhood, which introduced him to the blessings of the Christian dispensation. On the return of Tapairu to Rarotonga, Rupe remained with his father on Aitutaki. When the Rev. H. Royle took up his abode there this lad was among the most active and intelligent of his generation. He early attached himself to the missionary, and gave evidence of early piety. He continued to grow in stature and in grace, and, after having devoted himself some time to the active service of religion in his own island, he was sent, with a view to the ministry, to the Institution at Rarotonga, Here he made great proficiency, and in 1846 he was located at Arorangi, where he discharged the duties of the station with diligence and success, and thence was removed to this island of Atiu as the Evangelist of the people and pastor of the church. Thus, as in many other instances, we see the children of those who were instrumental in the overthrow of idolatry on these islands are now raised up to be helpers in the Mission, and to occupy positions that make native agency essential to its very existence an agency at once the reward and the glory of our early labours."
[13] The ship arrived with news of the death of Rev. John William at Erromanga in 1839 (Maretu 1983: 128)
[14] Rev. William Gill, 16 October 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18 Folder 5 Jacket D
[15] Rev. William Gill, 11 April 1845, SOAS, SSL, Box 18, Folder 3, Jacket A
[16] Rev. George Gill, 7 February 1846, SOAS, SSl, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A
[17] "[1847] The settlement….of Tamarua, formerly situated in an unhealthy valley, was removed to a higher site." (Gill, 1856: 188).
[18] Rev. George Gill, 17 June 1848, SOAS, SSL, Box 21, Folder 3, Jacket B
[19] "It was this teacher Mr. Williams took in the Camden to Ofa ma Olosonga one of the small islands in the Navigators [islands of Samoa] in the year 1839. After being there for more than 4 years, he returned to Rarotonga for further instruction in the Institution and in 1847 was brought here…" Rev. George Gill, 26 March 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 5, Jacket A
[20] Rev. George Gill, 26 October, 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket B
[21] Rev. George Gill, 19 January 1850, SOAS, SSL, Box 23, Folder 4, Jacket B
[22] Rev. George Gill, 22 November 1850, SOAS, SSL, Box 23, Folder 4, Jacket C
[23] D.V. 'Deo Volente' - God Willing.
[24] Rev. George Gill, 30 September, 1851, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, Folder 4, Jacket B

[25] Rev. George Gill, 30 April, 1852, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, Folder 9, Jacket A
[26] Rev. Aaron Buzacott, Journal, 2-3 March 1852, p. 635, Mitchell Library, Sydney
[27] Rev. William Wyatt Gill, 10 March 1852, Box 24 Folder 4 Jacket A
[28] Rev. W. W. Gill, 12 January 1853, Box 25 Folder 3 Jacket A
[29] Rev. W.W. Gill, 6 January 1854, SOAS, SSL, Box 25, Folder 6, Jacket A
[30] Rev. W. W. Gill, 28 October 1854, Box 25, Folder 6 Jacket B
[31] Rev. W. W. Gill, 4 January 1856, reprinted in *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, Vol. 36, October 1856; 620
[32] Rev. William Wyatt Gill, 20 March 1861, Box 28 Folder 3 Jacket B
[33] Rev. G. A. Harris, 4 May, 1876, SOAS, SSL, Box 35 Folder I Jacket C; 'Opening of new Tamarua Church'.
[34] Rev.W. W. Gill, 13 May 1871, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 1, 1866 – 1880
[35] *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, 1872 p.427
[36] Rev. W. W. Gill 13 May 1871, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 1, 1866 – 1880
[37] Rev. G. A. Harris, 14 July 1875, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 1, File 10
[38] Rev. G. A. Harris, 4 May 1876, SOAS, SSL, Box 35 Folder 1 Jacket C; Opening of new Tamarua Church.
[39] Rev. G. A. Harris, 13 February 1888, SOAS, SSL, Box 39 Folder 4 Jacket D; "Severe hurricane of 2-5 January – many buildings destroyed.": "The church at Tamarua having been destroyed by a cyclone, a new stone building was erected. …." (Gill, 1894; 338)
[40] Rev. G. A. Harris, 13 January 1891, SOAS, SSL, Box 41 Folder 5 Jacket B
[41]Extract from *Te Karere*, October, 1899 Special Supplement Page 16
[42] *Te Karere*, No 9 Supplement August 1899 pp. 11 - 12
[43] Resident Agent Large to Resident Commissioner Gudgeon 28 January, 1905, Cook Island's Archives.
[44] *Otago Daily Times*, 13 April 1935
[45] Wyatt Gill suggested that Mangaia no longer had tamanu trees because they had been burnt during the early mission period on account of their connection with idolatry, (Gill, 1880; 100).

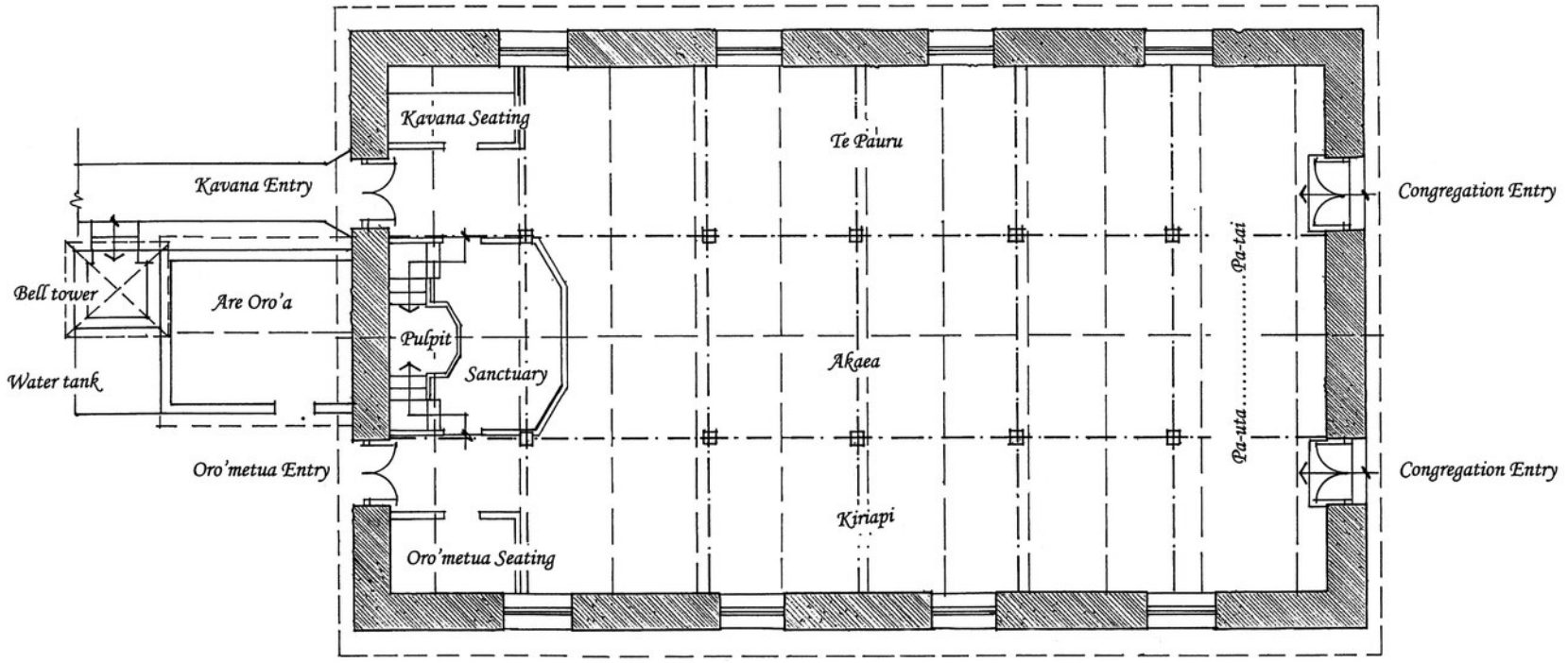
The sennit weave on the Tamarua church rafters abd beams is thought to represent the Ngati Tane tribe



(Left) Carved collar for the tamanu posts, and in the background the sennit wrapped beams and rafters of the Tamarua church; (above) the carved pulpit and altar rail of the Tamarua church in 1955 (photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands). The pulpit is generally the largest and most central piece of furniture in Congregational churches, symbolizing the proclamation of the Word of God as the central focus of the weekly service of worship. The large stone base of the pulpit is probably original to the 1891 Tamarua church (photo - D. S. Marshall Archive, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands).

Sennit lashing using Te Puta o te Ikatuna (The hole [open pattern] of Te Ikatuna) in the Tamarua Church (D.S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands).

(Above) Betela, 1991 – division of food following the death of ariki Ruida Numangatini; Ngariu kavana at centre in white shirt (photo - Rod Dixon); (below) Betela church and Mission house, 2023 (photo - Pam Steele)

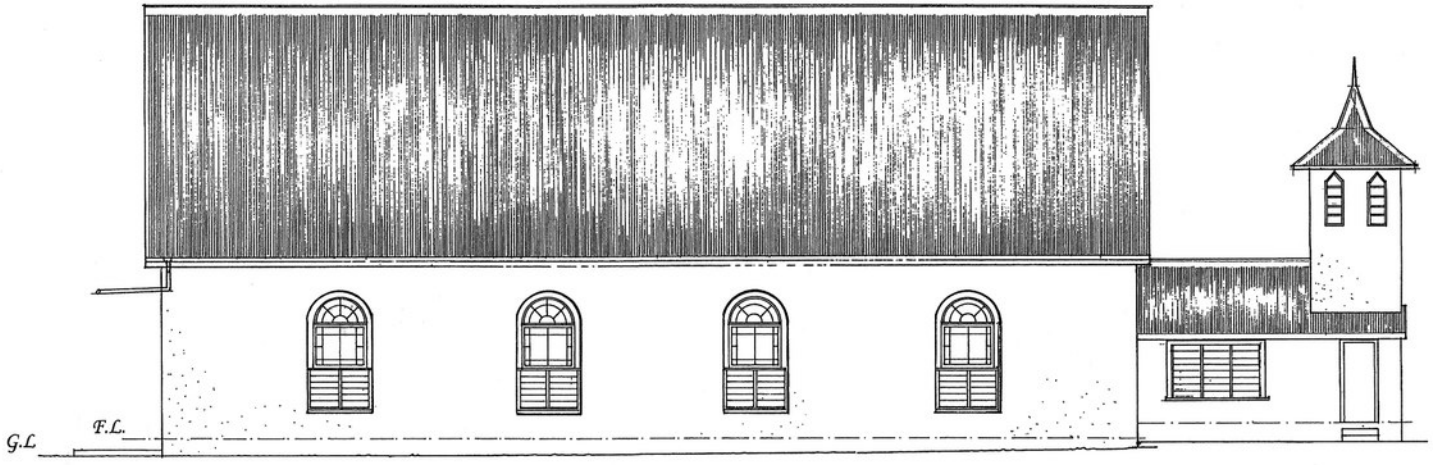


Floor Plan
scale 1:100

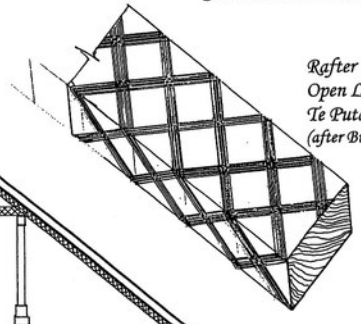
Betela
Tamarua Church
Mangaia
1891

Budgett 2005

Betela, 2005



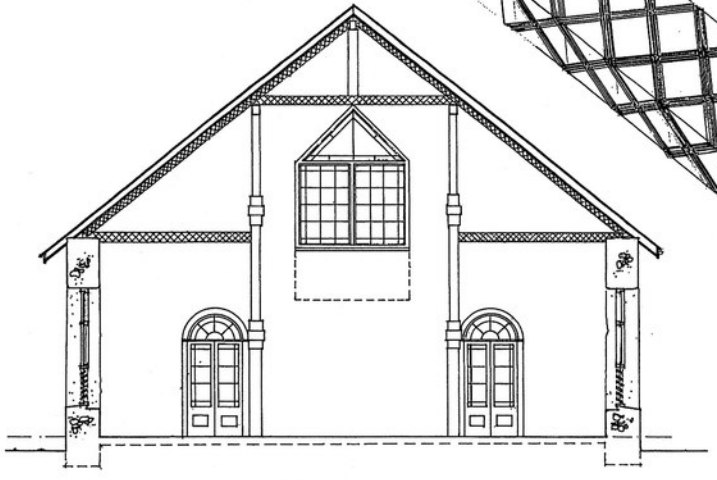
South East Elevation



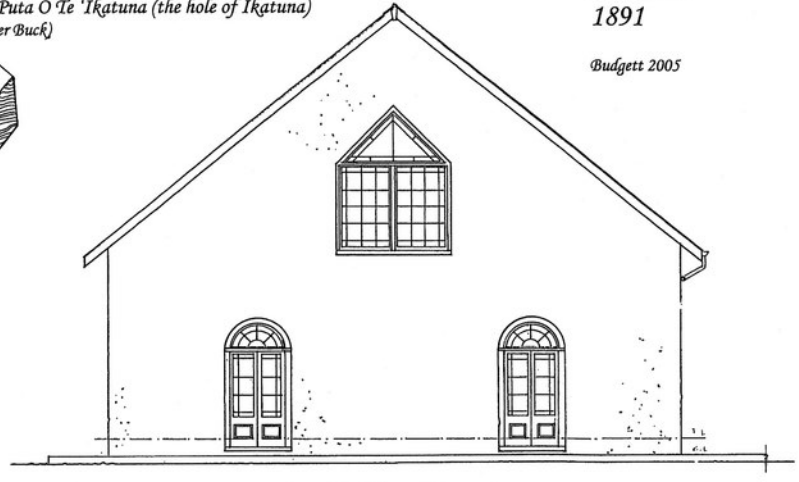
Rafter with Sennit Lashing
Open Lozenge Pattern
Te Puta O Te 'Ikatuna (the hole of Ikatuna)
(after Buck)

Betela
Tamarua Church
Mangaia
1891

Budgett 2005

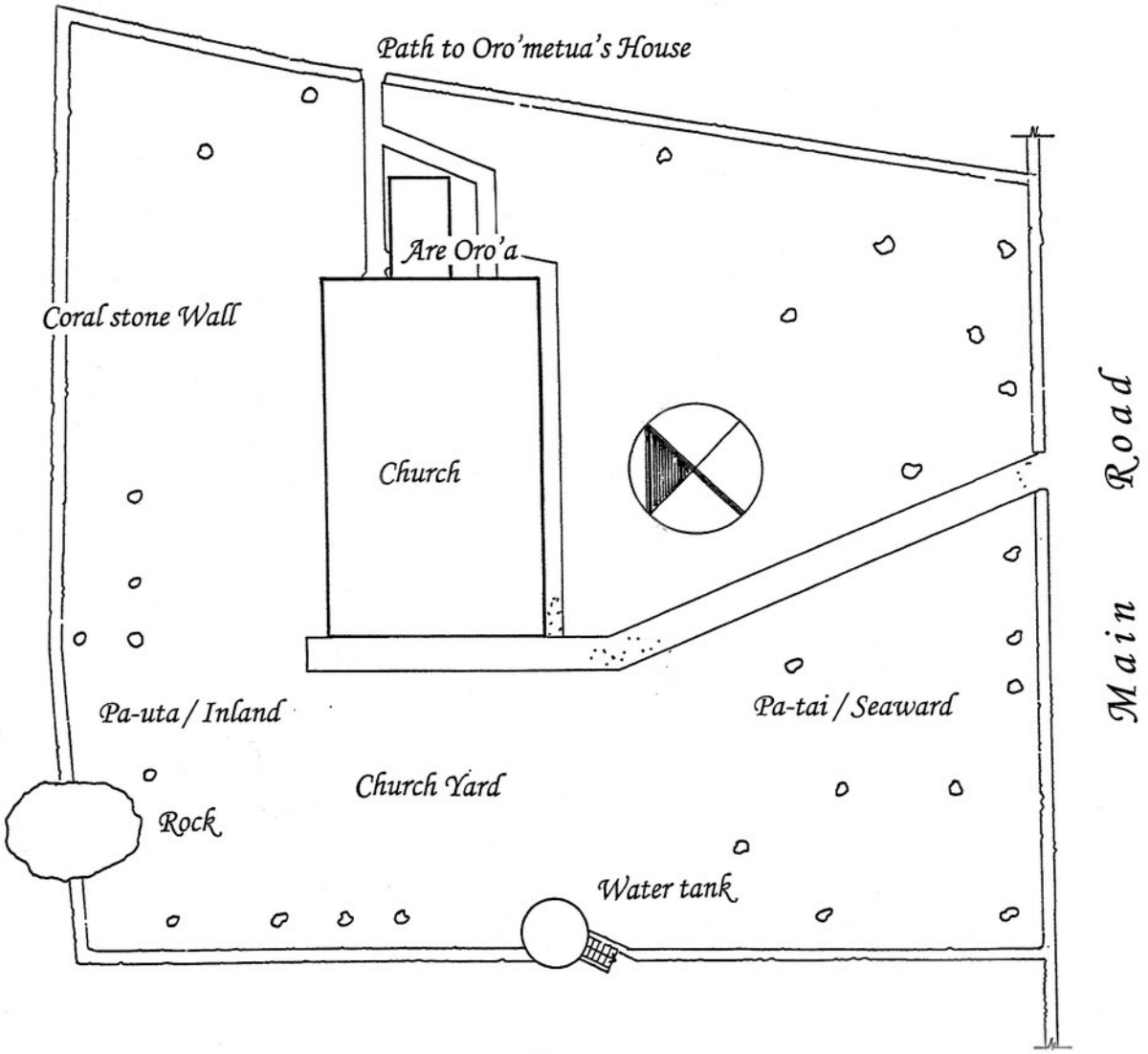


Cross- section



South West Elevation
scale 1:100

Betela, 2005



Site Plan
scale 1:400

Betela
Tamarua Church
Mangaia
1891

Budgett 2005

Orometua of the Tamarua church

Image believed to show orometua Sadaraka (Mamae) and his wife Aravao, c. 1850s. Albumen prints, part of a stereo card, (Source: Michael Graham-Stewart and Francis McWhannell, 'Jesus in the Pacific' Missionary Exihibition, 2016, https://michaelgrahamstewart.com/jesus-in-the-pacific/)

Orometua of the Tamarua Church

This list, which remains incomplete, was compiled with the assistance of Mrs. Tetangi Matapo and the Tamarua Vainetini.

1839 – A large number of the Tamarua people returned to Tamarua with the missionary Havaire who fled there after being accused of adultery (Maretu, 1983; 116).

1841 - 8 July - Rupe from Avarua and his wife were 'set aside' to minister at Tamarua and Ivirua Later, Havaire returned to Mangaia and challenged Rupe (Maretu, 1983; 133 - 4). Havaire was subsequently dismissed from the church.

1843 - Tairi from Arorangi ministered at Tamarua for one week and Rota from Arorangi the following week then Ngatae from Ngatangiia The Tamarua people preferred Ngatae but he refused to stay on Mangaia. Eventually Rakoia and Tereavai agreed to accept Rota as their pastor (Maretu, 1983; 150).

1844 - Rota from Arorangi and his wife were appointed to Tamarua.

1845 - 14 October – Rev. Geo Gill described Rota as "the deacon from our church at Arorangi whom I left here [Mangaia] on our last visit to the island.**"** "His devoted piety and natural mildness of disposition have been very instrumental in softening down the difficulties and opposition which once existed here. Rota had since returned to Rarotonga." To replace Rota, "We have now placed an excellent young man there who has been three years and a half in the institution, Rarotonga." No name is given but it is presumably Tangiia. At this time there were 84 Tamaruan candidates for church communion (SOAS, SSL, Box 18 Folder 5 Jacket D).

1845 - The Church ministers, meeting in Rarotonga, resolved that "Tangiia, a senior student in the [Takamoa] Institution be appointed teacher at the settlement of Tamarua, Mangaia,." (Rev. W. Gill to Directors, 11 April 1845 (Box 18, Folder 3, Jacket A).

1845 - 20 August - Tangiia was married to Miriama at Oneroa (Gill 1880; 169). The following year, Tangiia died (May 1846) of lung disease.

1847 - Anania from Atiu and his wife from Rarotongan were appointed to Tamarua. Anania died of apoplexy in Tamarua on 30 September 1848.

1848 - Sadaraka, a deacon from the Oneroa church and his wife Aravao were appointed by Rev. George Gill and the three churches to minister at Tamarua, following the death of Anania. Sadaraka had been Gill's assistant and instructed him in the language.

1852 - 1 March - Rev. W. W. Gill and his wife Mary Layman Gill arrive to minister Tamarua from 1852 - 57.

1853 – July - Sadaraka returns to Oneroa.

1857 - Rev. W.W. Gill moves to Oneroa;

1857 - Sadaraka returns to Tamarua as orometua.

1859 - Teariki and his wife from Ngatangiia are appointed to Tamarua. Sadaraka returns to Oneroa.

1865 – Teariki still in post at Tamarua. Death of Tamarua pava Rakoia (aged around 80 years). Death of oldest serving Tamarua deacon Tereavai.

1871 - Teariki dismissed for adultery and Koreiti and his wife appointed to Tamarua. Koreiti, aged around 35 years, had previously worked at Lifu in the Loyalty Islands but had been expelled by the French (Rev. W. W. Gill, 13 May 1871, South Seas Reports, Box 1, 1866 – 1880).

1871 - 25 April - Arrival of Rev George Harris and Mary Ann Harris.

1871 – Rev. G. A. Harris and his wife minister at Tamarua for 3 months. Rev. James Chalmers spent a week at Tamarua and reported - "At Tamarua, the native pastor [Koreiti] is a young man. He and his wife spent some time on Lifu and were compelled to leave by the French. We were very much pleased with them both. They are good earnest workers, seeking anxiously to lead the people to Christ." *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, 1872 p.427.*

1876 – Koreiti still in post at Tamarua.

1878 - Tipoki Kavere of Mangaia and his wife Ngaitemotu appointed to Tamarua. Later they are appointed to New Guinea and the mission at Maka and Maiva.

1893 – Koreiti moved to Ivirua and was replaced by Kaokao who is described as "a standing example of the care the people take of their pastors as regards the body. I think, if he were

weighed, he would turn the scale at twenty-stone" (*First Missionary Trip of the S.S. "John Williams",* February, 1895).

1899 – 8 January- Death of Kaokao va'ine

1901 – Rev. Rongomate Teanaune and his wife Ritea appointed to Tamarua on their return from Papua

1902 – Rev. Teanaunga Apeau and his wife.

1904 - 1909 – Tipoki reppointed to Tamarua. He retired from Tamarua and the church in 1909 having "served the church for 27 years with sound judgement, a youthful spirit, and a consecrated heart." (Rev. H. Bond James, *Annual Report,* 1909).

1910 - 27 February - Rev. Tuamingi and his wife appointed to Tamarua having served some years successfully in New Guinea. (Rev. H. Bond James, *Annual Report,* 1909).

[missing information]

1935 – 43 – Rev. Aue Ngaau from Mauke and his wife Vaipoto.

1943 – 47 – Rev. John Tini from Aitutaki and his wife Maeva.

1947 – 52 – Rev. Orake Orake from Mangaia and his wife Tamataiti.

1952 – 56 – Rev. Ngatupuna Pareina from Mangaia and his wife Teinangaro.

1956 – 59 – Rev. Mokoha from Manihiki and his wife Zoara Taurau.

1960 – 64 - Rev. Nootai Henry from Aitutaki and his wife Roti Teinanui.

1964 – 68 - Rev. Tupou Apolo from Manihiki and his wife Fonu.

1968 – 73 – Rev. Taraariki Pitomaki from Aitutaki and his wife Rangiturutu.

1973 - Rev. Tekeu Uea from Atiu and his wife Akenooriu.

1973 – 79 – Rev. Ngatupuna Pareina from Mangaia and his wife Teinangaro.

1980 - 82 – Rev. Ngatokorua Patia from Mauke and his wife Mamatira.

1983 – 87 – Rev. Tokoa Amataiti from Mangaia and his wife Amy May.

1988 – 89 – Rev. Isaia Willie from Penrhyn and his wife Teperu.

1989 - 1993 - Rev. Nio Mare from Rarotonga and his wife Ititau.

1995 -1996 - Rev. Elikana Solomona from Pukapuka and his wife Moabi.

2002 - 2006 - Rev. Charlie Okotai from Aitutaki and his wife Ngaetu.

2007 - 2011 - Rev. Taungaputa Tinirau from Penrhyn and his wife Tapita.

2011 - 2015 - Rev. Yakilia Vailoa from Pukapuka and his wife Pokivaine.

2015 - 2019 - Rev. William Tereora from Penrhyn and his wife Romiromi.

2019 - 2023 - Rev. Haraveikore William from Penrhyn and his wife Akauta.

2023 - Rev. Terepai Kauvarevai from Mangaia and his wife Ataua.

Peniela
Ivirua/Karanga

Chapter 10

Peniela, Ivirua/Karanga

And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved - Genesis 32:30

The Church at Ivirua/Karanga is named Peniela after the Biblical story of Jacob who passed through a town named Peniel and there saw God face to face. Located high on both gables of the Ivirua/Karanga church are the 'Eyes of God' or 'Te Mata o Te Atua' which provide the church with one of its most distinctive features.

The history of the church at Ivirua/Karanga is not well recorded in the archives. Unlike Oneroa which had a permanent English missionary resident throughout most of the 19th century and Tamarua which was served for 5 years by the Rev. William Wyatt Gill, Ivirua from 1844 – 1884 was administered by Katuke, an Atiuan pastor who rarely corresponded with L.M.S. headquarters in London and, apart from a few letters, has left no currently known records of his years of service.

What we do know is that a Church and School House had been built at Ivirua some time before the Iviruans officially broke away from the church at Oneroa (Maretu, 1983;126).

Maretu visited Ivirua in 1839 in the company of the orometua Vaaruea. At the time Davida was already travelling regularly from Oneroa to Ivirua to teach (Maretu; 1983; 115). Maretu reported the presence of some 160 people living inland at Ivirua (Maretu, 1983; 119) including "one or two who had begun to pray to God" (Gill, 1880; 175).

As for Karanga puna, Maretu (1983; 121) writes - "All the Karanga people had moved to Ivirua. Some even followed us to Oneroa" leaving only the depleted households of the Karanga rangatira Arikikaka, Vaerua and Tira living on their ancestral lands – by his count. ten people in total. Arikikaka, Vaerua and Tira requested that a teacher come to visit them rather than join the village at Oneroa. Arikikaka told Maretu, "just send someone to teach us. We'll remain here at home. We are very satisfied. It would be too difficult to carry food such a long way" (Maretu, 1983;133).

Arikikaka was called on to say a prayer. This was his prayer -

Ta Tamaunu Parau [1], ta Davida, pukea apaina i Karanganui, ia vaitata ua te anau, ua ro'i te

kake i te puku i Tuapapa.

The Holy Bible of Tamaunu, of David, hold it and take it to Karanganui, so that the children will be close. It is so tiring to climb to the top of Tuapapa. [2]

Aratangi (1986; 38-9, fn) writes -

Numangatini asked [the Ivirua/Karanga people] – "Ka 'apai koe i ta'u Evangeria ki'ea taporo ai? (Where are you going to take the Gospel and put it?)

The answer was – "I runga i ta'u tama 'ū'ā.

The idea is that the child is not to be seated on the ground but on the lap of a person as a symbol of love.

According to most accounts there were five historic locations for the Ivirua/Karanga church. Some say the location of the first church was at Te i'i Kura [3] ; others say that the first location was Kura Kitea. From there the church moved to Tupango [4] and from there to Te au tutai, until finally, in 1894, it rested at its current makatea location at Are Papaka Nui.

The first church

Maretu describes a service held in the first Ivirua church for the May celebrations in 1840 with visitors from Oneroa.

On reaching Ivirua they [the Oneora visitors and Iviruans and Karanga people] entered the church and sang hymns praising God for his great love (Maretu, 1983; 126).

Rev. William Gill and Mrs. Gill visited Ivirua from Monday 28 June, 1841 to Tuesday 19 June, 1841. Mrs. Gill reported –

At 1 o'clock [Monday 28 June, 1841] the members of the church were assembled, when, like those of Tamarua they expressed a wish to be settled at their own village. Taking into consideration their number, the long distance from Oneroa, and the bad roads, it was thought well to comply with their desire. The church was then formed, and three deacons were chosen to conduct its services until a teacher could be appointed. [5]

The second church

In June 1841, the Ivirua people commenced to build a new schoolhouse, 92 feet by 45 feet (Gill, 1880; 100) and a new church. Marteu records that around 1841 -

> The people of Ivirua wanted a limestone church, so we built it (Maretu, 1983; 133).

This is probably the church that William Gill opened when he came to take Maretu to Rarotonga for medical treatment. Visiting Ivirua again in 1842, Rev. William Gill described the village which was then located in an inland valley with a population of around 500 -

> I visited the third settlement, Ivirua, and was much gratified with the evident marks of industry. The land is sterile and unfruitful… but here the well-watered and cultivated valleys form a striking contrast to the surrounding barren hills. The houses which form this village are built on ["detached spots of" [6]] rising ground in one of these valleys, surrounded with taro and yam plantations, and shaded with the wide spread branches of the lofty cocoa-nut trees. The population was about 500, sixty of whom were in church communion ["at the principal station, Oneroa" [7]], and two hundred were in attendance at the school (Gill, 1880; 118).
>
> During the twelve months since I had left them [8] the people at Ivirua had built a large and commodious chapel, and my present visit [in 1842] was made an opportunity for opening it. ["This lime-built house of prayer stood in the midst of the scattered reed huts of the people" [9]] It was an interesting day's service. The sound of the Chapel gong echoed from valley to valley, in the place where, only a few years before, all the people were idolators. Company after company came from over the hills and through the plantations to enter the new house of God. My text was Isa.lvii.7: "A house of prayer for all people." [10] After this service, Pori from the Native Institution [Takamoa] in Rarotonga was installed as native teacher at Ivirua (Gill 1856; 158).

In 1841 and 1842, Pakau worked at Ivirua as orometua [11] before Pori from Takamoa assumed duties in 1842 (Gill 1856; 158). Rev. William Gill described Pori as "a good man; and with prudence, intelligence, and consistency he fulfilled the duties of the ministry" (Gill, 1856; 158). In 1843, Pori returned to Rarotonga (Maretu, 1983; 148) and in 1844 Katuke and his wife were appointed to Ivirua, remaining there as orometua for the next forty years, until 1884.

The third church

In 1844 work commenced on rebuilding Ivirua Church as a stone structure, as Maretu recounts -

> In 1844 we burnt some lime to build the church. As we planned a stone building, it took a long time to find the right stones. After the May celebrations… we gathered the coral rocks into one place. We waited a long time for a ship to bring nails for the timber in the church. It wasn't till [19 July] 1845 that the mission ship [the *John Williams*] came to Mangaia to bring George Gill, accompanied by William Gill and Mr. and Mrs. Buzacott, who were going to England to print the Bible (Maretu, 1983; 151).

In 1845 a mission house for Katuke and his family was built.

> Pointing to a pretty new lime house just built by the people for him, he [Katuke] said, "That house which has lately been finished gives me much pleasure, not only because it is so comfortable, and adapted to my work, but because I see in it the desire of the people towards me, and their willingness to receive instruction (Gill, 1880; 174).

The fourth church - "Beulah"

Both the Ivirua and Tamarua chapels, as well as the new Oneroa chapel were all destroyed in the 1846 hurricane. A temporary church was built but a new stone Church was not constructed until towards the end of the decade, when the villages of Ivirua and Karanga were relocated to a new site in 1849. As Rev. George Gill reported -

> At Ivirua I have … succeeded in getting the people to abandon their former residences which were located near swamp and water for a very healthy and convenient spot. All parties see the propriety of the proceeding and very readily adopted the advice. The ground has been cleared and the boundaries of the village marked out and the fences for the Chapel and Native Teacher's house are completed. At this village [Ivirua/Karanga] also the people are making united and immediate efforts for the erection of a new Chapel. It is the smallest village and will not require so large a building as the other settlements so that we hope the Chapel will be finished by May 1850. The buildings we have erected for Chapels will serve for School Houses until others more substantial can be erected. This month we have commenced the rearrangement of this village and many have expressed themselves anxious to rear a strong and substantial house……[12]

Work began on the new Chapel in "the month of February [1850] … and the work has been

prosecuted with …alacrity and willingness." [13] According to Rev. George Gill the new Chapel, called Beulah [14] was to be "60 ft long and 30 ft wide."

> Our Anniversary Meetings were held in June [1850] at Ivirua in the new building which had so far progressed as to be roofed in. The people were anxious to hold the meeting and removed the scaffolding from the interior and although it was unfinished seemed to be gratified to have so strong and substantial a building. [15]

> In the month of October 1851, the inland village at Ivirua was visited by a waterspout which burst upon the School House. Several houses were leveled to the ground and the School House completely shattered, not a post was left standing. I am glad to say that no damage was done to the New Chapel which although but 60 ft from the school escaped without any injury save the displacement of the thatch which could be repaired in very short time… It was therefore subsequently decided that a New School House of stone should be commenced forthwith and this was done by the laying of the foundation stone on the 17th Novr [1851] for a building 48 feet long, 30 ft wide 9 feet high to wall plate and 36 ft to the ridge pole. I am happy to say that on the 13th inst. we held special services for the opening of this building and we shall hope to prosecute the various plans for daily instruction & meetings of classes as soon as possible..." [16]

With Ivirua/Karanga possessing its own church, pastor and school house, the populations of Ivirua and Karanga began returning to their home villages. In December 1854, the census recorded the population of Ivirua as 392 with a further 165 living in Karanga. The numbers remaining within the Ivirua/Karanga enclave at Oneroa had declined to 29.

In early December 1865, Tamatangi, the pava or kavana of Ivirua, and a strong supporter of the mission, died aged around 70 years. He had been in his late twenties when the Gospel arrived and had led a group of Iviruan warriors in support of the kai parau at the last battle, Te Ara Tangaroa (1828).

In 1870, Rev. W. W. Gill wrote after a visit to Ivirua –

> I have been much pleased with the people of Ivirua, a village of 400 inhabitants on the east of this island. They have been for some time past busy upon the enlargement of their school house. It was their own idea to lengthen it by 12 feet, to re-roof it and to lay down a new flooring. To encourage them, I provided a little help in regard to spike nails, etc, etc, which I have purchased out of their contributions to the value of £5. The building is already roofed in; the open rafters and beams are very prettily ornamented with white cinnet after the fashion of this island. The Iviruans are about to lay down the flooring and to reseat it as well, and to

complete the doors and windows. [17]

In 1871, Rev. George Harris lived and worked for four months in Ivirua prior to taking up his appointment at Oneroa.

In December of the same year, Rev James Chalmers spent a week at Ivirua and reported, “The pastor at Ivirua [Katuke] is an Atiuan and his wife a Rarotongan. They have both done good service for twenty seven years. The people are very much attached to them... The school and church at Ivirua are neat, comfortable and strongly built, and reflect great credit on the natives. [18]

A few years later, the Ivirua Ekelesia began construction of a new mission house which was described by Rev. G. A. Harris as “a really comfortable strong built stone house. The greater part of the expenses was borne by the people themselves. The burning of lime etc was an immense undertaking. The new building is quite an ornament to the village.” [19]

By 1876 Katuke had been orometua at Ivirua for 32 years. The Rev. G. A. Harris reported -

> The principal people have expressed their desire for either another pastor or a younger brother to assist Katuke with the school. Katuke is a kindhearted, good man and a man I like very much but he is hardly the man for the present generation growing up about him. He is by no means infirm – he walks six miles every Thursday to see and confer with me on scriptural subjects and church matters. He still preaches well and with little diminution of energy. But being one of the very first teachers sent from the Rarotongan Institution, he naturally falls short in some things and is not equal to the present staff of better educated teachers. His church does not exactly wish him to resign, at least they said so when I pressed the question. His church have voted him the small sum of $40 per annum. This, they say, is sufficient as they will have to pay a second [teacher] when he arrives. I have settled things as much as they wish and providing their desire for a co-adjutor with Katuke is sincere, they will not be long without one.

In 1884 Tuka, a Mangaian pastor who had returned from mission work in Samoa, was appointed to Ivirua/Karanga as Katuke’s co-adjutor. In 1885, Tuka was replaced by a young student Kaokao who eventually took over as full-time pastor following the death of Katuke.

In the 1890s, Noongo became the Ivirua/Karanga orometua and remained in post until 1906 when Manoa and his wife returned from missionary work in Papua. Manoa was described as “an indifferent teacher” [20] and Kauareiti was appointed to support him.

The current church

In 1893-4 the present church, Peniela, was built at Are Papaka Nui. It was opened on 12 March 1894.

On 15 January, 1905, as the result of a hurricane, the "Church at …Ivirua …was damaged, about a third or fourth of the roof being stripped off … the religious services being conducted in the school house, also damaged to a certain extent." [21]

In February 1955, during a severe economic downturn on the island, the anthropologist Don Marshall visited the Ivirua church and found it in a disappointing state of repair. He described it as a -

> Large church with a handsome shell – the pews are terrible but the pulpit is a terrifically ornate importation from New Zealand, which was obviously designed for a Catholic church – once has these same pictures around the walls, but have since been destroyed by age. In one corner of the pulpit was a blue flag, crudely lettered, from the "harvest festival" of last November. The Sunday School building is almost as big as the church, but in very bad condition – holes in roof, rafters eaten away, even some of the stone doorway falling in, though rafters crudely joined with sennit. No seats only a few coconut logs on the dirt floor-outside the church was a graveyard with several stones of the returned soldiers of the first war in it – one of them still uncrated ….Many lizards in this church, as others I have seen. [22]

In the 1990s the church was rebuilt and the Sunday School demolished and rebuilt on an adjoining site.

Peniela in 2005

Jeanette Budgett

Site Description

Ivirua Church sits within a well demarcated church yard that once included the original Sunday School Building. Today a new concrete block Sunday School Building occupies the same site facing the church doors used by the general congregation. The churchyard contains the usual features: graves, war memorial, flagstaff, bell tower and community infrastructure (an early 1900s water tank constructed by the then Government Engineer H.M. Connal). The bell tower was originally located beside the east end (congregation entry) and has been moved several metres to the perimeter of the church yard. There are no trees in the church yard.

Roof and Walls
The gable ended church has 800mm thick coral stone walls measuring 20.5 metres x 13 metres with round–arched windows and doors to all elevations. Ivirua Church shows considerable deformation of wall surface in the southeast and northwest corners. This appears to be as a result of the introduction of steel portals and a new roof in recent years. The original plan is far from square and the upper wall surfaces of these corners appear to have been 'shaved' to conform to the more regular geometry of the new roof.

The most distinctive feature of Ivirua Church is the 'Eyes of God' or *'Te Mata o Te Atua'*. The Church is named Peniela after the Biblical story of Jacob who passed through a town named Peniela and saw there the 'eyes of god'. The church façade is animated by small circular openings that not only suggest a human face but also the "all-seeing" eyes of God. This feature occurs in both gable ends of the church. This symmetrical treatment of end facades is not common in axial European church buildings where a linear progression from the entrance to the sanctuary is often articulated architecturally.

Ivirua Church has undergone the most extensive alterations of all the Mangaian churches. Not only have steel portals been introduced, visible under the roof overhang, but a suspended ceiling has been installed that appears to echo the original profile of the aisle post timbers and tie beams. This ceiling may still conceal the original timbers and would be worthy of further investigation. The original timber joinery has been replaced with aluminium joinery. The changes to Ivirua Church conceal all structural expression behind the white paint that covers every surface of the church. [23]

Floors
There are numerous references to the replacement of the Oneroa Church flooring in the LMS correspondence which suggests that the original floors in all churches were timber. In all three churches these original timber floors have been replaced with concrete floors and tiled. Without any sub-floor ventilation these were always likely to rot over time. Ivirua Church has made the most extensive changes to the floor levels with the seating on either side of the aisles raised by approximately 300 mm above the rest of the floor resulting in awkward cranked circulation at the doorways.

Footnotes

[1] Tamaunu - Jehovah; Parau - Tahitian for Word or Bible;
[2] Tuapapa - a hill on the inland road between Oneora and Ivirua.

[3] I’i kura – Tahitian chestnut tree (*Inocarpus fagifer*). According to Ngaiaere Aratangi, “Te i’i Kura is from Te i o Kura a woman who was sacrificed before Christianity and her blood drained into the valley. This hill side is where the [first Christian] settlement [was located]. If you go to the top of the hill, you will see the whole plantation. This is facing northward. There is also a small stream that comes near it” (pers. comm. 30 November 2023).
[4] According to Andrew Ngaiaere, “Tupango is about 200m away north of the swamps on a hill. We also found evidence of the ke'o (Stalactmites) ... There are two known caves in the area which are possible sources for the ke’o. You can still see part of the swamps from Tupango and also Taumatini marae near it on the hill, overlooking the swamps” (pers. comm. 30 November 2023).
[5] Gill,1880; 100 – see also pp.104 - 5 for an account of Gill’s visit to Ivirua from Saturday 21 August to Tuesday 24 August, 1841.
[6] Gill, 1856; 156
[7] Gill, 1856; 156
[8] i.e., between September 1841 and September 1842.
[9] Gill, 1856; 157
[10] Gill, 1880; 119
[11] Maretu, 1983; 138
[12] Rev. George Gill, 26 October 1849, SOAS, SSL, Box 22. Folder 2. Jacket B
[13] Rev. George Gill, 22 November 1850, SOAS, SSL, Box 23, Folder 4, Jacket C
[14] Gill, 1856; 190. "Beulah" is translated in the Bible as “married” but appears as the name of a mystical place, between Heaven and Earth in *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan, translated into Rarotongan (*Tere o te Tuitarere*) in 1846 by Rev. Aaron Buzacott.
[15] Rev. George Gill, 22 November 1850, SOAS, SSL, Box 23, Folder 4, Jacket C
[16] Rev. George Gill 30 April, 1852, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, Folder 9, Jacket A
[17] Rev. W. W. Gill, 17 May 1870, SOAS, SSL, Box 32, Folder 4, Jacket C
[18] *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, 1872 pp.427
[19] Rev. G. A. Harris, 20 August 1881, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 1 1866-1880; “A short review of 10 years residence…”
[20] Minutes of Committee, Mission House, Takamoa, 13 September 1904, SOAS, SSL, File Box 48
[21] Resident Agent Large to Resident Commissoner Gudgeon, 28 January, 1905, Mangaia Administration, Cook Islands Archives.
[22] D. S. Marshall, field notes, *The Second Expedition to Polynesia*, Peabody Museum of Salem, 1954-55; 135.
[23] The lowered ceilings, the use of white or beige paint and the replacement of timber joinery with white or beige aluminium joinery can be seen in a number of recent renovations of churches on Rarotonga (Matavera, Ngatangiia and Titikaveka) - see Budgett, *Escape* Magazine October 2005, Rarotonga.

Orometua of the Ivirua/Karanga church

Orometua of the Ivirua/Karanga church

1839 - Maretu visited Ivirua in 1839 in the company of the orometua Vaaruea. At the time Davida was already travelling regularly from Oneroa to Ivirua to teach (Maretu; 1983; 115). Maretu reported the presence of some 160 people living inland at Ivirua (Maretu, 1983; 119) including “one or two who had begun to pray to God” (Gill, 1880; 175).

1841 – June/July - Rev. William Gill and Mrs. Gill visited Ivirua/Karanga and agreed to establish a church there.

1841 - 4 July - Rev. Rupe was given responsibility for the churches at both Ivirua/Karanga and Tamarua.

1842 - Rev. William Gill and Mrs. Gill visited Ivirua/Karanga for a second time.

1842 -3 - Rev. Pakau was appointed to work at Ivirua/Karanga (Maretu, 1983; 138).

1842-3 - Rev. Pori from Arorangi, a graduate of Takamoa, who was assisting Davida and Maretu at Oneroa, was installed as native evangelist at Ivirua/Karanga (Gill 1856; 139, 158). Pori returned to Rarotongs in 1843. Pori “fulfilled the duties of the ministry, until he was removed by death” (Gill, 1856; 158).

1844 - Rev. Katuke (Atiu) and his wife (Rarotonga) appointed to Ivirua/Karanga (Maretu,1983; 151).

1856 – Rev. George Gill notes “Katuke still continues to execute his duties with assiduity” at Ivirua/Karanga (Letter dated 8 January, 1856 reproduced in *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, 1857; 436).

1871 – Rev. G. A. Harris spends 4 months at Ivirua/Karanga with Katuke. Rev. James Chalmers spends a week at Ivirua/Karanga and reports, “The pastor at Ivirua [Katuke] is an Atiuan and his wife a Rarotongan. They have both done good service for twenty seven years. The people are very much attached to them…… The school and church at Ivirua are neat, comfortable and strongly built, and reflect great credit on the natives” (*Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle,* 1872; 427).

1876 – Rev. G. A. Harris at Oneroa reports that Katuke is “the oldest preacher of the island

“has been teacher there [Ivirua] for 32 years... Aged and needs a co-adjutor" (Rev. G. A. Harris, 4 May 1876, SOAS, SSL, Box 35 Folder 1 Jacket C).

1884 – Rev. Tuka, a returned Mangaian missionary is appointed co-adjutor with Katuke (Rev. G. A. Harris, 23 October 1883, SOAS, Box 38 Folder 1 Jacket E).

1885 - Rev. Tuka was replaced by a young student Kaokao who eventually took over as full-time pastor following the death of Katuke.

1887 – Rev. Aiteina from Mangaia and his wife.

1893 - 97 – Rev. Noongo and his wife.

1897- 1903 – Rev. Terepai and his wife

1901 – Rev. Manoa and his wife from Mangaia, appointed to Ivirua/Karanga on their return from Papua.

1904 - 1909 - Appointment of Kauaraiti initially in support of Manoa who was adjudged “an indifferent teacher” (Minutes of Committee, Mission House, Takamoa, 13 September 1904, SOAS, SSL, File Box 48)

1905 - pastor at Ivirua removed by the district committee as "not equal to the work" (Rev. Bond James, 8 January 1906).

1906 – Rev. Mate and his wife Nia from Mangaia

1911 – Rev. Tauri and his wife.

1911 - Rev. Tumupu and Mrs. Vaine Titi Tumupu from Atiu.

1918 – 22 – Rev. Akaeakore and his wife from Mangaia.

1922 – 24 – Rev. Mate and his wife Nia from Mangaia.

1924 – 28 – Rev. Rongomate from Mangaia and his wife.

1929 – 34 - Rev. Koi and his wife Kitekore from Mangaia

1935 – 40 - Rev. Pureau from Atiu and his wife.

1940 – 43 – Rev. Raa from Avarua, Rarotonga and his wife.

1943 - 47 - Rev. Teremoana from Mauke and his wife.

1947 - 52 - Rev. Kiriau and Mama Orometua Moeavarua from Atiu

1953 – 56 - Rev. Moe and Mrs. Ngatokoturo Turua from Mangaia.

1956 - 63 - Rev. Orake and Mrs. Taimataiti _Orake from Mangaia.

1963 - 64 – Rev. Takai Amarama Tepake from Rakahanga and his wife.

1964 - 68 - Rev. Tihau and Mrs. Ngari Kairua Piho from Rakahanga.

1968 - 73 - Rev. Mangaara and Mrs. Teatuanui Makiua Makiiti from Mangaia.

1973 - 78 - Rev. Tekere and Mrs. Natiti Pereeti from Pukapuka.

1978 - 87 - Rev. Marii and Mrs. Maeu Mauri Marii from Aitutaki.

1988 – 89 - Rev. Joe Atirai from Pukapuka and his wife Mrs Mii Maea Atirai from Aitutaki.

1989 – 95 – Rev. T. Awai from Pukapuka and his wife.

1995 – 99 – Rev. N. Aratangi from Mangaia and his wife.

1999 – 2003 – Rev. M. Akama from Pukapuka and his wife.

2003 – 07 – Rev. Papa Aratangi from Mangaia and his wife Canny Aratangi.

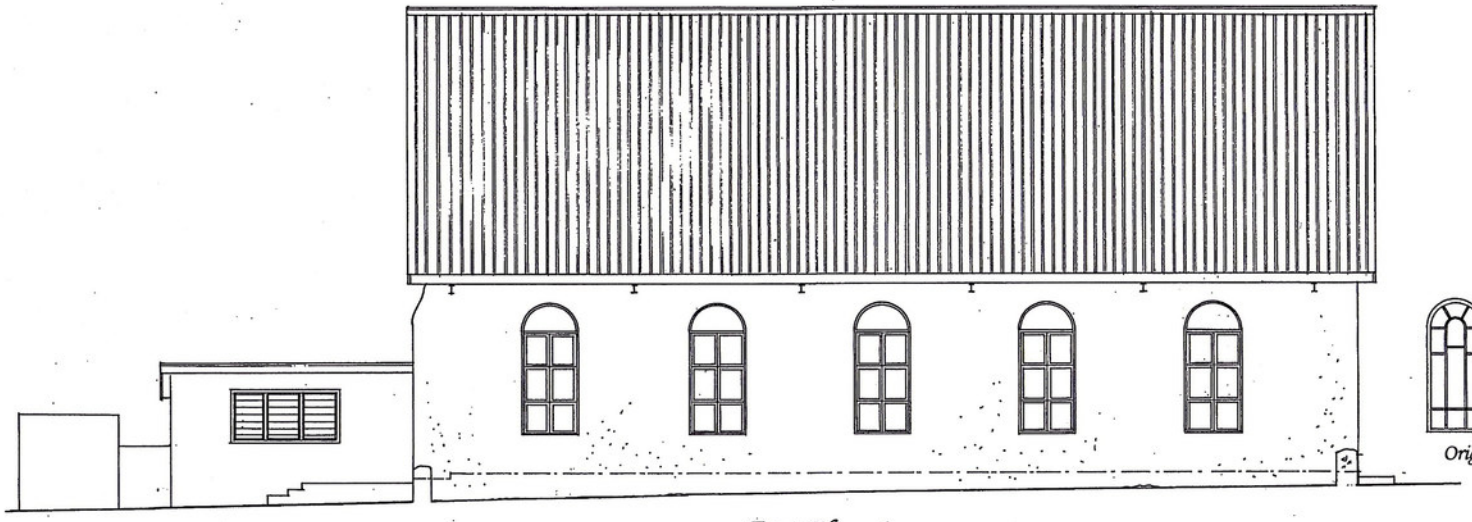
2007 – 08 – Rev. T. Ongoua from Mangaia and his wife.

2008 – 11 – Rev. Ben Thorai from Tahiti and his wife.

2011 – 15 – Rev. Peri Daniel from Penrhyn and his wife.

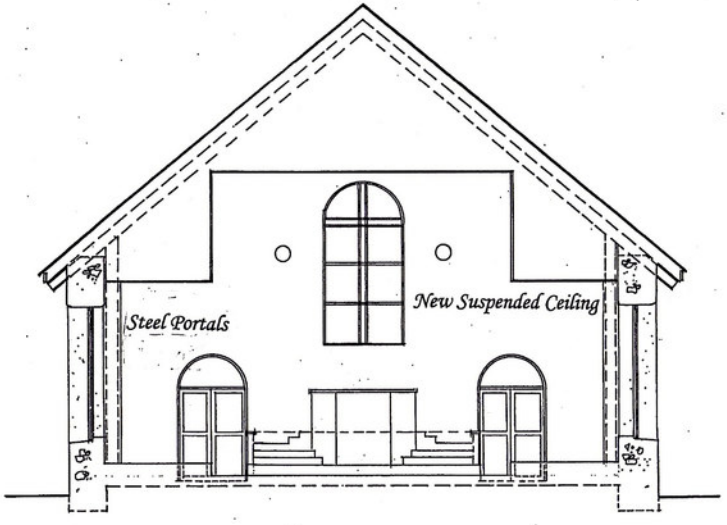
(Above) The Ivirua/Karanga church before renovation - note location of the bell tower
(Below) the Ivirua/Karanga Sunday School before demolition (photos - Rod Dixon, 1991)

(Above) Peniela 2010 after restoration (photo - Taoi Nooroa) and (below) Peniela 2023 (photo - Pam Steele). Note the relocation of the bell tower. Below, portico's have been added to the doors at either end of the church.

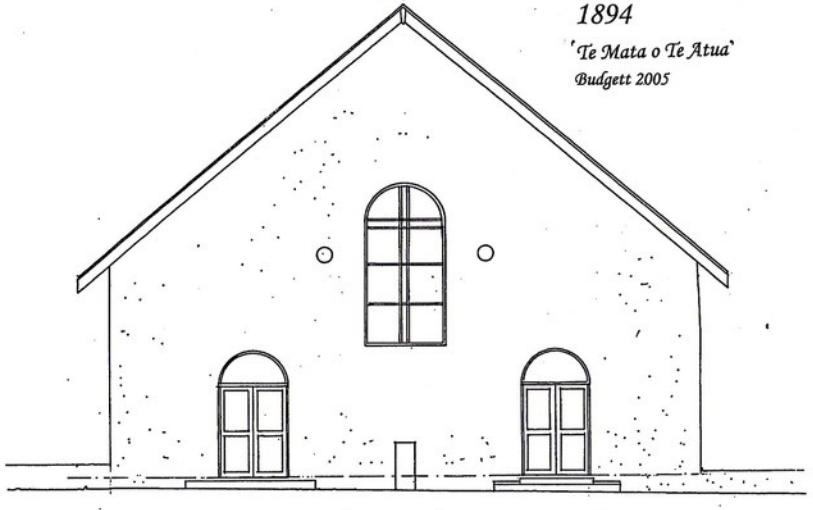


East Elevation
scale 1:100

Peniela, Ivirua Church
Mangaia
1894
'Te Mata o Te Atua'
Budgett 2005



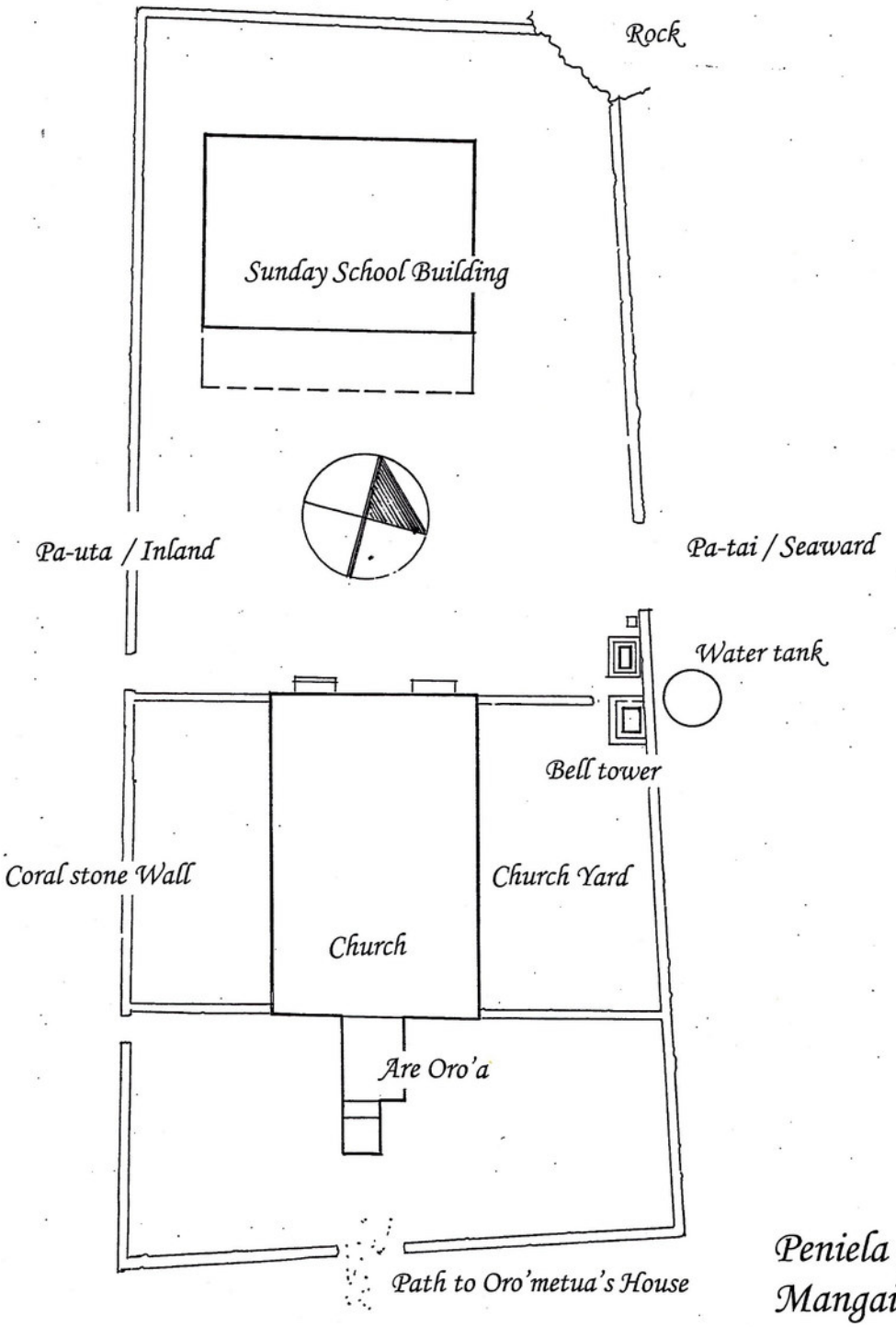
Cross- section



North Elevation

Peniela, 2005

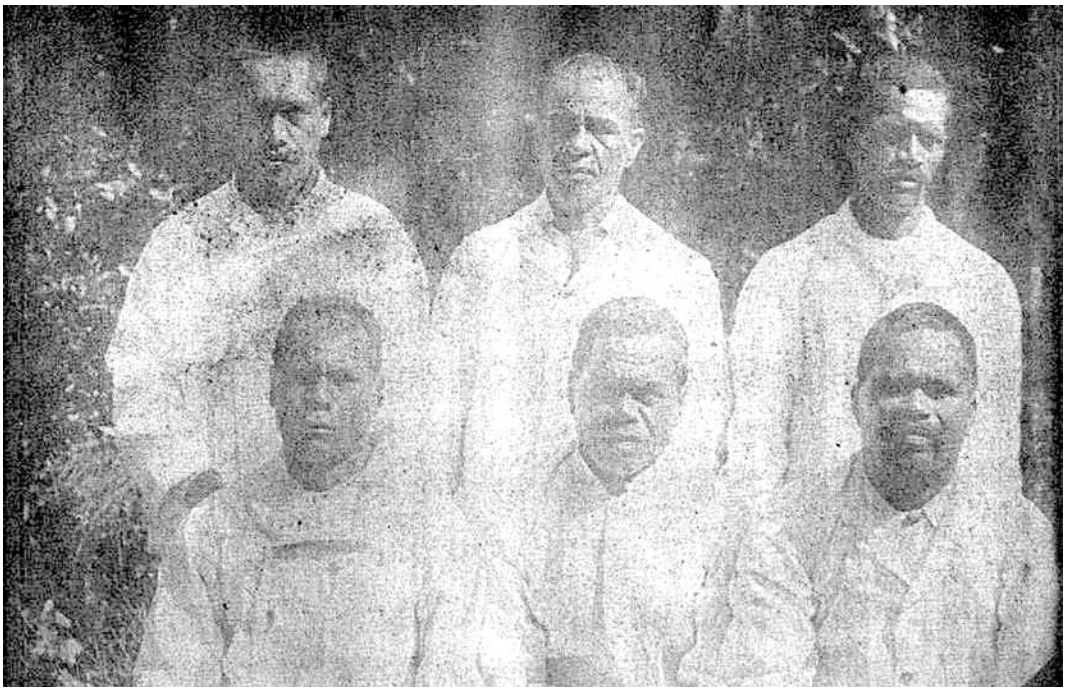
Penieta, Ivirua Church
Mangaia
1894
Budgett 2005
Floor Plan
scale 1:100
Matiekura
Karanga
Kirikiri
Arataa
Congregation Entry
Congregation Entry
Pa-uta Pa-tai
Inland Seaward
Steel Portals
Raised Floor level
Kavana Seating
Sanctuary
Pulpit.
Oro'metua Seating
Kavana Entry
Are Oro'a
Oro'metua Entry
Water tank



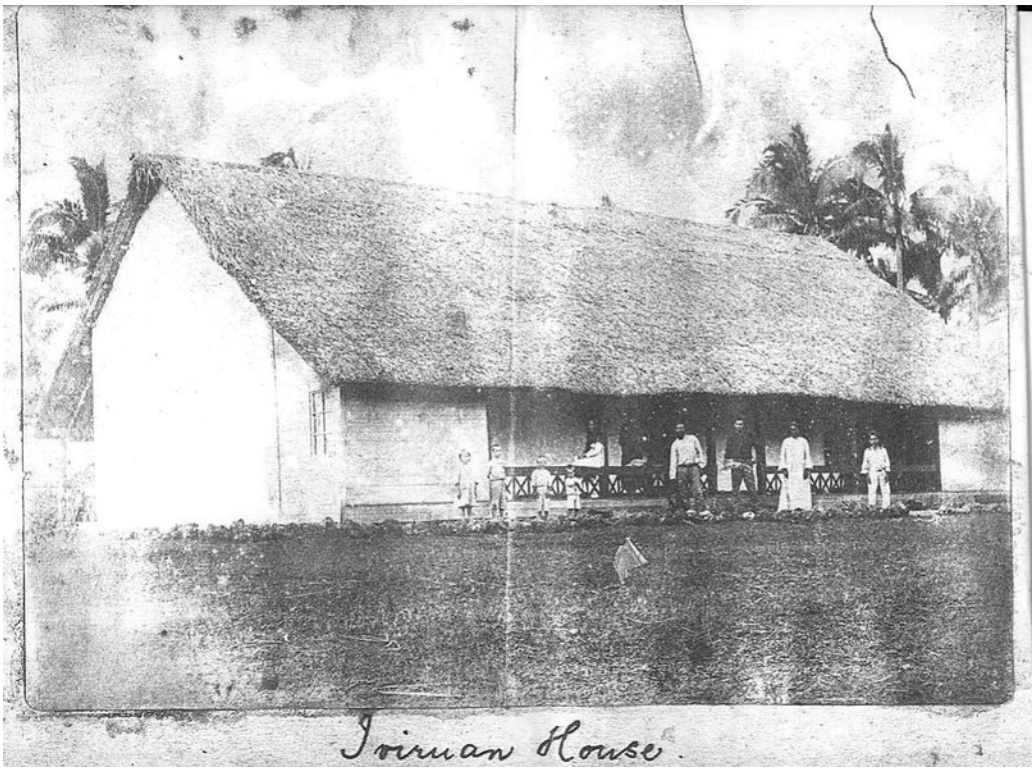
Peniela ,Ivirua Church
Mangaia
1894

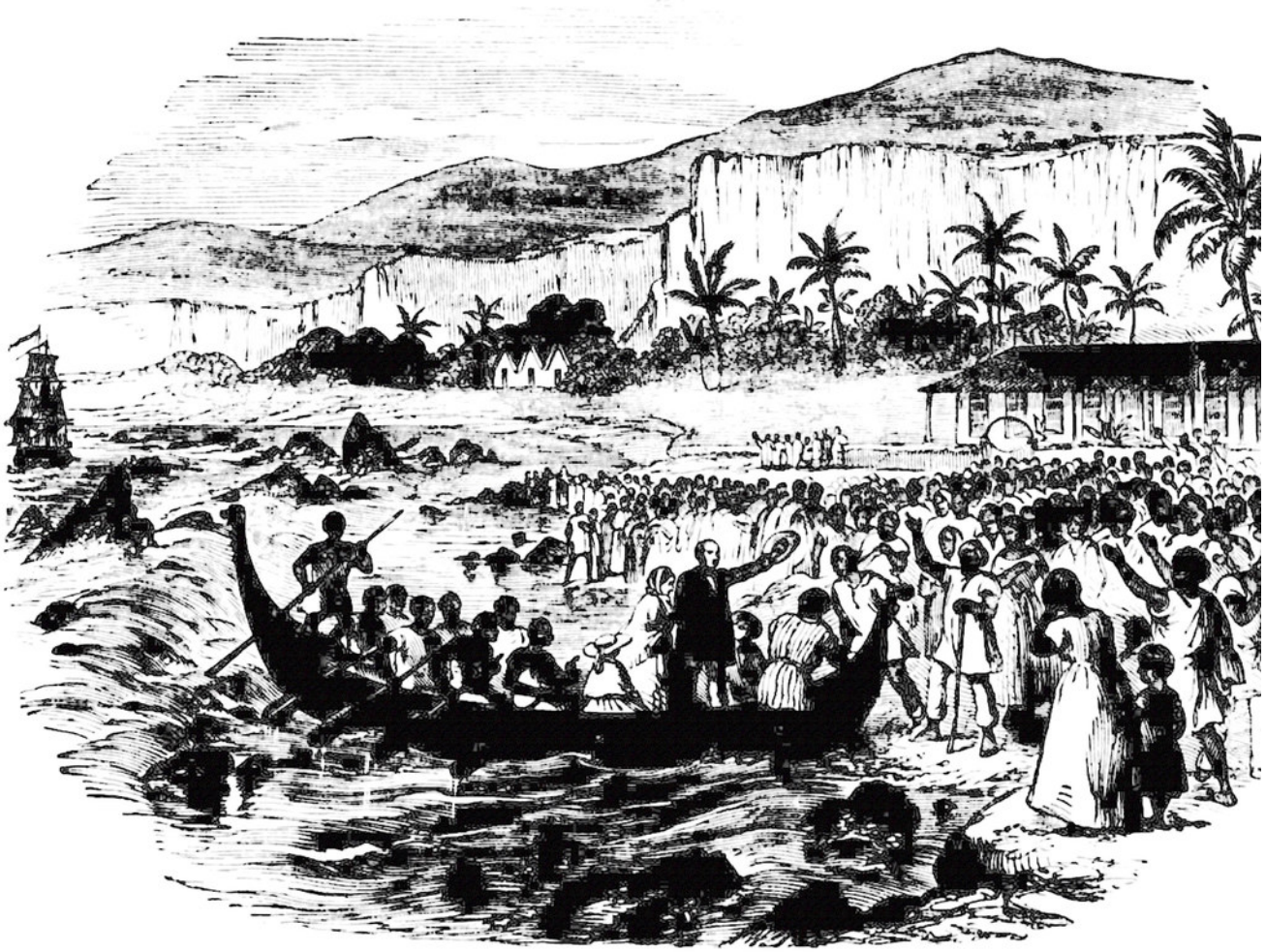
Site Plan
scale 1:400

Budgett 2005



(Above) Deacons of the Mangaian church, pre 1893; (below) The padanus thatched Ivirua Mission House c. 1870 (photos - Bussanich Collection).





European missionary family at Mangaia. Note the three roofed church, the mission house, the makatea, the ship standing offshore and the high stern post (repe) of the canoe.
(Illustrated Sydney News, 25 November 1871)

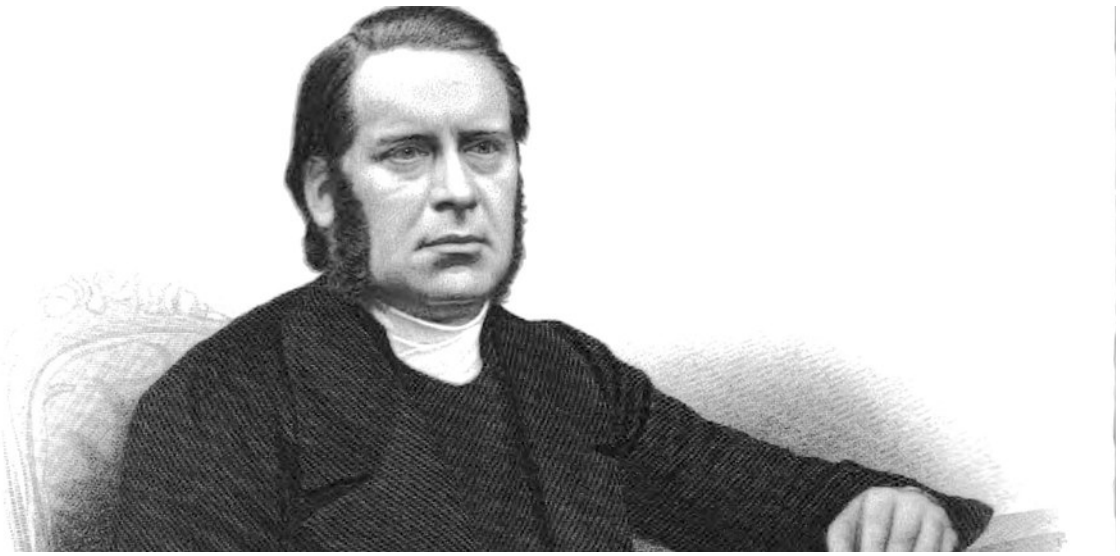
Appendix 1
British Missionaries to Mangaia

(source; James Sibree, 1923, *A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc. from 1796 to 1923*, London Missionary Society, London)

Rev. William Gill (1813 - 1879)
(source - SOAS, CWM, Home Missionaries, Portrait Box 2)

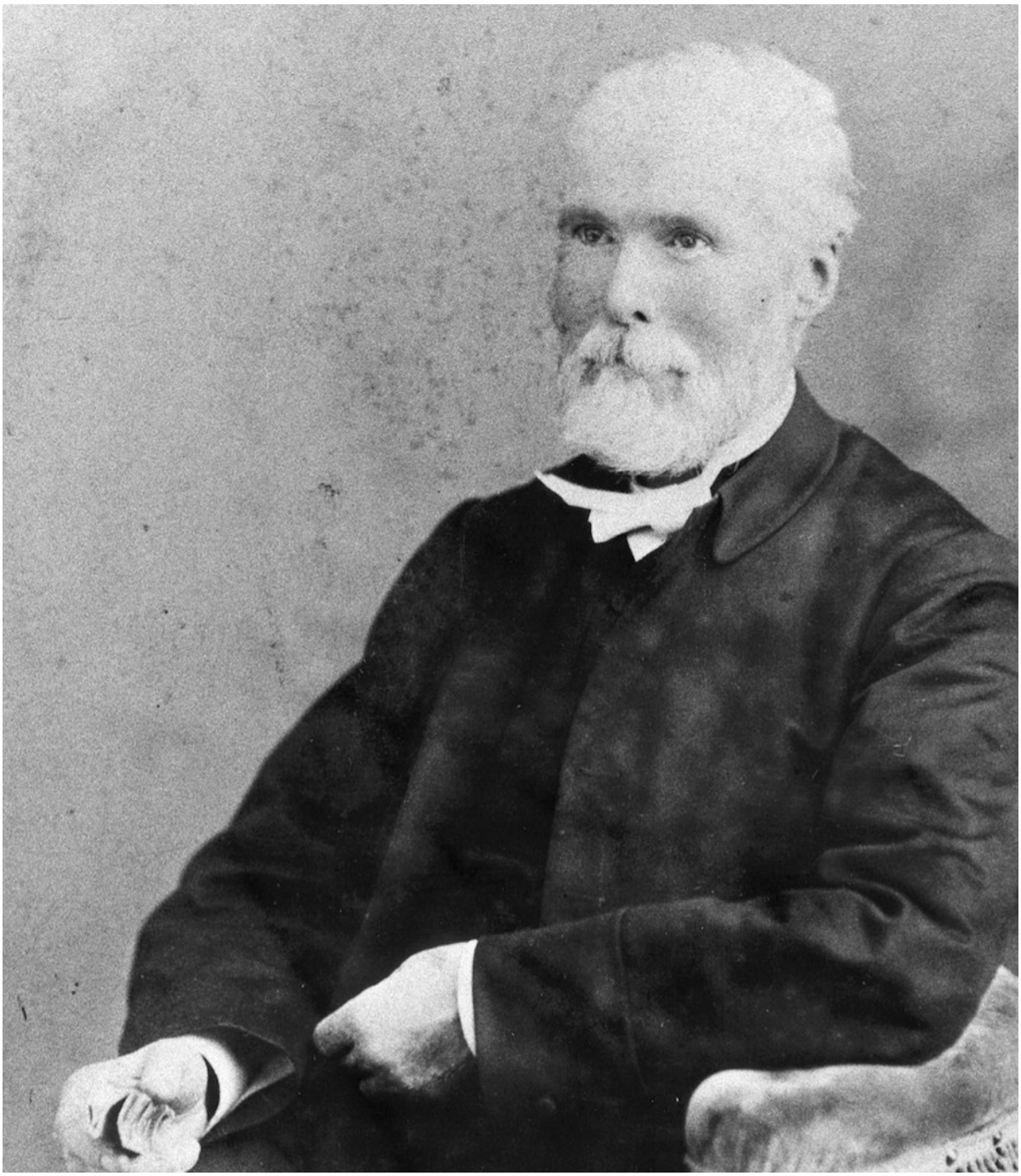
GILL, William. Born, 14 January 1813, at Totnes. Studied at Turvey. Appointed to Rarotonga. Ordained, 12 October 1837 at Barbican Chapel, London. Married, 21 September 1837, Elizabeth Lansborough Halliday. Sailed in the *Camden,* 11 April 1838. Arrived at Sydney, 10 September 1838, and at Rarotonga, 4 February 1839. Stationed at Arorangi. In June, 1841, Mr. and Mrs. Gill visited Mangaia, and spent three months there. In 1842, in the absence of Mr. Buzacott from Rarotonga, Mr. Gill took charge of his station at Avarua, together with his own, and also of the Institution. In 1843, after visiting the other islands of the Hervey Group, Mr. and Mrs. Gill landed in Mangaia, 17 June. In 1845 they proceeded in the *John Williams* to visit several of the islands in the group, and accompanied Mr. G. Gill to Mangaia, to which island he had been appointed. In 1846, after visiting Atiu, in the Hervey Group, they proceeded in the *John Williams* to Samoa, where they were joined by Mr. Nisbet, who, with Mr. Gill, had been deputed to visit the stations to the west. After visiting the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, and Niue, they returned by way of Samoa to Rarotonga, where they arrived on 26 December 1846. During his residence on Rarotonga, besides his pastoral and evangelistic work, Mr. Gill devoted much time to Scripture revision and to the production of books in the Rarotongan language; while Mrs. Gill gave attention to the education of women. In November 1852, they left Rarotonga, and, calling at Manihiki on the way, proceeded to Sydney, and thence to England, where they arrived 16 June 1853. After his return to England he passed through the press, for the Bible Society, the second edition of the Rarotongan Bible; and also revised and passed through the press other works in Rarotongan. In 1856, as Mrs. Gill's continued ill-health would not permit her return to Rarotonga, Mr. Gill resigned his connection with the Society as a missionary. In August 1856, he accepted a pastorate at Woolwich. He died at Blackheath, London 14 August 1878 aged 65 years. Mrs. Gill died at Blackheath, Aug. 27, 1879, aged 68.

Book written
Gems from the Coral Islands Ward & Co, London: Vol. 1, 1855. Vol. 2, 1856.
Selections from the Autobiography of Rev. William Gill, London, 1880



Rev. George Gill - served on Mangaia from 1845 - 1857
(source - SOAS, CWM, Home Missionaries, Portrait Box 2)

GILL, George Born, 23 January 1820, at Tiverton. Brother of Rev. W. Gill. Studied at Hackney College. Appointed to Mangaia, South Seas. Ordained, 30 May1844, at Barbican Chapel, London. Married 15 April 1844, Sarah Trego, at Barbican Chapel. Sailed, 2 June 1844. Arrived at Sydney, 27 October, and arrived Rarotonga, 9 January 1845. Remained there until July, when, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. W. Gill, they proceeded to Mangaia, arriving 19 July. Mr. and Mrs. W. Gill left 15 October, when, as the first resident missionary, he took sole charge of the mission on the island, residing at Oneroa. On 1 March 1852, Mr. and Mrs. W. Wyatt Gill arrived and settled at Tamarua, and took charge of part of the mission. In April, 1857, on the retirement of Mr. Buzacott from Rarotonga, Mr. G. Gill removed to that island, and took charge, carrying on the Institution for training native evangelists. In 1858, Mr. Gill, with Mr. Stallworthy, of Samoa, visited, as a Deputation, the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands and Niue. Mr. Gill left Rarotonga for this purpose on 21 May 1858. Arriving, at Samoa, he was joined by Mr. Stallworthy. Leaving Samoa, 28 June, they accomplished their mission, and returned to Apia, 22 August ; they afterwards visited Fakaofo, one of the Tokelau Group, and returned to Samoa, whence Mr. Gill proceeded to Rarotonga, arriving 29 September 1858. In Jan., 1860, Mr. and Mrs. Gill and family left Rarotonga to proceed to England, where they arrived 30 June 1860. In 1861 he resigned his connection with the Society, and took a Pastorate at Burnley, Lancashire. In 1870 he was associated with Mr. Krause in revising the Rarotonga version of the Bible for a third edition. After completing this work, he carried it through the press. In 1880 he resigned the Pastorate at Burnley. He died at Lewisham, London 19 August 1880, aged 60 years. Mrs. Gill died at Blackheath, 25 February 1898, aged 80.



Rev. William Wyatt Gill - served on Mangaia from 1852 - 1872
(source - SOAS, CWM, Home Missionaries, Portrait Box 2)

GILL, William Wyatt, B.A., LL.D. Born, 27 December 1828, at Bristol. Christened at Kingsland Church, Bristol. Studied at Highbury and New Colleges. Appointed to Mangaia, South Seas. Ordained, 11 July 1851 at Spa Fields Chapel, London. Single. Sailed 15 July 1851. Arrived at Sydney, 23 November 1851. At Sydney, on 19 December 1851, married Mary Layman Harrison, born, 19 May 1830, in London. Leaving Sydney, 1 January 1852, they arrived at Mangaia, 1 March 1852, and settled at the Tamarua station. On Mr. G. Gill's removal to Rarotonga early in April, 1857, the charge of the Mangaia Mission devolved on Mr. W. W. Gill. In 1857, Mrs. Gill left Mangaia to visit Sydney. Leaving Sydney, 29 March, she returned to Mangaia. From May, 1858, to the end of September resided at Rarotonga. In March, 1862, Mr. and Mrs. Gill, having failed in health, left Mangaia to proceed to Sydney. Visiting the Penrhyn and other islands-out-stations of the Hervey Islands' Mission, they called at other groups, and arrived at Sydney, 7 July. Leaving Sydney, 17 September, in the *John Williams*, they visited the Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides, Samoa, etc., and arrived at Mangaia, 23 March 1863. In 1869 Mrs. Gill sailed for Sydney with her children, some of whom were going on to England. She returned to Mangaia, 28 July. On 8 June 8, 1872, Mr. Gill, with Mrs. Gill and family, left Mangaia in the *John Williams* to return to England. Arriving at the Loyalty Islands 31 August, they, on 11 September, sailed in the *John Williams* for Somerset, Cape York, where they arrived 11 October. Mrs. Gill and family proceeded thence in the *John Williams* to Sydney, where they arrived 22 December 1872. Mr. Gill, after accompanying Mr. Murray to various islands near the coast of New Guinea, and to several points on the mainland of the island, sailed for Sydney, where he arrived 22 January 1873. Leaving Sydney with Mrs. Gill and family, on 5 March 1873, they arrived in England, 15 June. On account of Mrs. Gill's health they remained in England until 1876, when, having been appointed to take charge of the Rarotonga Mission, he sailed for that island, with Mrs. Gill, on 4 October 1876 arriving April, 1877. In 1877, from 3 July to 14 August, he was engaged in visiting in the *John Williams.* the out-stations of the Hervey Islands' Mission. In 1883 he again visited the out-stations, leaving Rarotonga 23 June, and returning 19 July. In his absence Mrs. Gill died, on 12 July at Rarotonga. On 22 November 1883, Mr. Gill left Rarotonga and retired from foreign service. Arrived at Sydney, 12 December 1883. Left Sydney, 5 January 1884, to accompany native teachers to New Guinea and visit that mission. Arriving at Port Moresby, 6 February, he went through part of the eastern branch of the mission, and returned to Sydney, 6 April. Here he undertook the revision of the Rarotongan version of the Bible, under the .Bible Society. Married, in July, 1885, Emily Corrie, at the Bourke St.Christian Church, Sydney (Hill). In order to carry through the·press the revised version of the Rarotongan Bible, he returned to England in 1887, arriving 15 February. This work for the Bible Society having been completed in April, 1888, he returned to Sydney with Mrs. Gill, sailing 1 June 1888. He resided there as a retired Missionary of the Society. In 1889, the degree of LLD was conferred upon him by the University of St. Andrew's. He died at Sydney, November 1896, aged 67 years.

Rev. George Alfred Harris and Mary Ann Rhodes with twins, Clara and Margaret (b.1875) Albert Rhodes (b. 1879) and Catharine (b.1880) The Harris family were stationed on Mangaia from 1871 – 1893. Seven of the family's eight children were born on Mangaia, the other on Aitutaki. One of these children and an infant remain in the Oneora church yard (source - SOAS, CWM, Home Missionaries, Portrait Box 2 D-1).

HARRIS, George Alfred. Born, June 12, 1844, at Edgware Road, London. Studied at Airedale College. Appointed to Mangaia, South Seas. Ordained, Aug. 24, 1870, at Salem Church, Bradford. Married, Aug. 25, 1870, Mary Ann Rhodes, Wesleyan Church, Bradford. Sailed, Nov. 10, 1870. Arrived at Mangaia, April 25, 1871. In June 1872, the sole charge of the mission devolved on Mr. Harris. In June 1876, he, in company with Mr. Chalmers, visited all the islands in the Hervey Islands' Mission, leaving Mangaia, June 9, and returning, July 25. In April 1896, on medical advice he retired from the foreign work of the Society. He died at West Southbourne, Nov. 18, 1917, aged 74. Mrs. Harris died at Stourwood, Bournemouth, July 25, 1921. Visits to England; March 9, 1884 – Nov. 5, 1885; Sept. 2, 1893

George Alfred Harris is regarded as the main architect of the three Mangaian village churches, working with the respective village communities while relying on a building manual for guidance. Budgett (2007; 185-6) regards the Oneroa church as the "culmination of Harris' building efforts" and "his finest church."

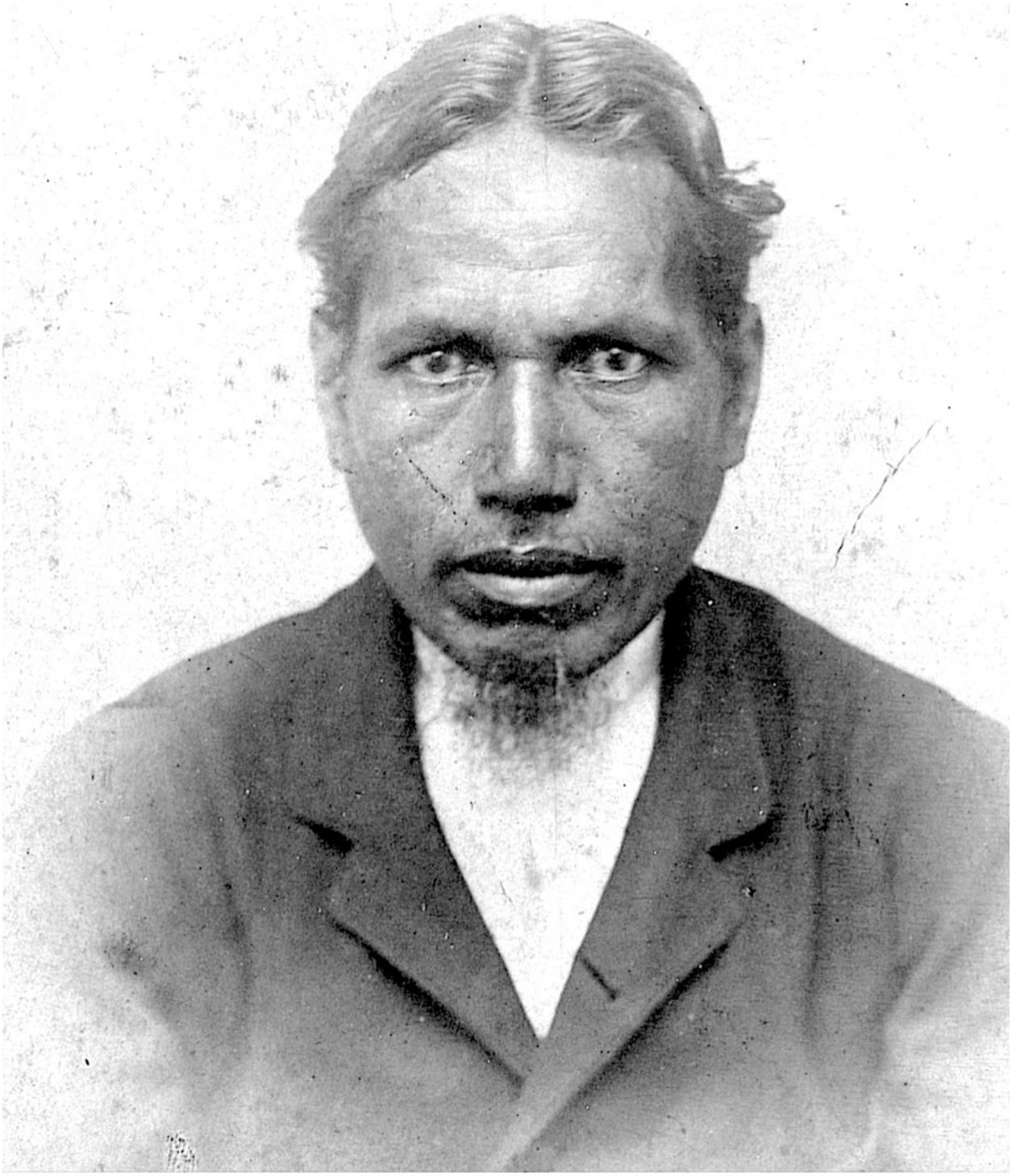
LAWRENCE, William Nicol. Born, 21 May 1859, at Leadside, Stoneywood, near Aberdeen. Studied at Airedale College. Appointed to Mangaia, Hervey Islands. Ordained 15 June 1883 at Airedale College Hall, Bradford. Married 22 November 1883 at Bankhead, Aberdeen, Jessie Leslie of Edinburgh. Sailed 12 December 1883 and arrived at Sydney 4 February 1884. Leaving Sydney 24 April 1884, they arrived at Mangaia 10 June 1884. Removed and settled on Aitutaki on 14 November 1885. In 1889, Mr. Lawrence visited New Zealand. In 1891, he removed to Rarotonga. On 28 July 1893, Mr. Lawrence resumed his work in Aitutaki. Mr. Lawrence served at Rarotonga, 1902-3. On 30 December 1905, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence embarked for Port Moresby, New Guinea to which station Mr. Lawrence had been transferred, arriving there 16 March 1906. Mr. Lawrence's work consisted of preaching, superintending the village schools of his districts, preparing students for the College at Vatorata, and the ministry of the English Church at Port Moresby. Mrs. Lawrence gave special attention to work among the Women and Schoot children. In 1918, Mr. Lawrence retired from active service.

Rev. James Harris Cullen - served on Mangaia 1894-1902
(source - SOAS, CWM, Home Missionaries, Portrait Box 2)

CULLEN, James Harris. Born, 20 November 1864, at Nottingham. Studied at Cheshunt College, Cambridge. Appointed to the Papua Mission, but temporarily to Niue. Married, 30 June 1890, at Robertson St. Christian Church, Hastings, to Mattie Burr Simmons of that Church. Ordained, 3 June 1891, at Robertson St. Christian Church. Sailed, 26 June 1891, arrived at Niue, 22 August 1891 and took sole charge on Dec. 1, 1891. Having been appointed to Mangaia, he left Niue, 24 October 1894, and arrived at Mangaia, 1 November 1894. In October 1896, Mr. and Mrs. Cullen visited New Zealand and returned to Mangaia in November of that year. In 1902, Mr. Cullen was transferred to the Papua Mission and left England for Port Moresby, visiting Mangaia en route. In 1904, he was transferred to the Barkly West Mission, S. Africa. In 1910, the Barkly West Mission was transferred to other missions in the district, and Mr. Cullen took temporary charge of the Taung Mission. In 1914, he was reappointed to Niue. Mr. Cullen died at Niue, 14 September 1919.

Rev. H. Bond James and Mrs Edith Pugh James on their retirement in 1933, after 30 years mission work (26 years in the Cook Islands). (Auckland Evening Post, 6 February 1933).

JAMES, Henry Bond was born 14 February 1875 at New Quay, Cardiganshire. In 1894 he commenced studies at Brecon Memorial Congregational Theological College. He was married, 18 June 1902, at Glamorgan St. Christ Church to Edith Pugh, of that church and ordained as a minister on 21 May 1902, at Soar Christian Church, Clydach Vale, Glamorganshire. Mr. and Mrs. James left England on 18 July 1902, and arrived at Mangaia on 24 Sept 1902. Rev. Bond James was resident missionary at Mangaia from 1902 – 1910 but spent September 1904 - 1906 on Rarotonga as principal of Tereora, making periodic visits to Mangaia as shipping permitted (for example, in January, June and September in 1905). In 1910 he and Mrs Bond James took up residence at the Mission House,Takamoa. From 1913 - 1917, Rev. Bond James was principal of Motufoua School on Vaitupu, Tuvalu. In 1916, he and Edith visited Australia, arriving at Sydney, 30 July, and leaving, 4 October. In 1917, Mr. and Mrs. James were transferred to the Cook Islands and arrived at Rarotonga, 13 October 1917, remaining there until their retirement in 1934. Rev. Bond James died in Auckland 15 September 1960. Edith died in Auckland 24 March 1964. Visits to England: 8 June 1912- 28 August 1913; 5 July 1920 - 6 October 1920; Mrs. J., 1922.



Ruatoka in his early 30s. "No higher praise can be afforded Ruatoka than that he is the noblest of the long succession of Eastern Polynesia teachers who have done such grand service for New Guinea." (Lovett, 1899; 442)

Appendix 2
Mangaian Missionaries Overseas

'South Seas teachers 1875' – Piri from Rarotonga and wife Maki from Mangaia, are second from left, Ruatoka and wife Tungane, both from Mangaia are third from left, Maka first on right in the back row. Maka's wife, presumed sitting beside him, was a New Guinea convert (source W.G. Lawes, SOAS, London University).

Ruatoka (1846–1903)

by Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe

This article was published:
in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 6 , 1976

Ruatoka (1846?-1903), missionary, was born in Tamarua, Mangaia Island, Cook Islands. The status of his parents is unknown, but they were Christian converts. [Ruatoka was the son of Koro Taumuamaro Tevaki Tengarai - eds]. Taught by William Wyatt Gill he went, around 1868, to Takamoa Theological College, Rarotonga, then under James Chalmers.

Ruatoka in 1881 aged around 35 years (photo - Papuan Pictures, London Missionary Society Archives, SOAS, London)

Ruatoka became one of six Polynesians chosen to convert New Guinea, and with his wife, Tungane, left Rarotonga with his five colleagues and W. W. Gill in mid-1872 and reached Somerset, Cape York, on 11 October. On 25 November with their wives and one child the missionaries landed at Manumanu on the coast of Papua with a supply of food, some medicine, trade goods and a small boat; in February 1873 they left the station, decimated by fever, and were taken to Somerset by Captain John Moresby.

Five months later Ruatoka and three colleagues sailed for Port Moresby. The Motu people, who often traded with Manumanu, recognized him and invited them to stay at Elevara and Hanuabada in Port Moresby. Ruatoka was never appointed leader of the party but clearly took command. The English missionaries depended on him to interpret, advise and supervise when

Ruatoka in his 50s in New Guinea. He died aged 57.

they were away. He was an efficient and dependable guide; short journeys with Rev. W. G. Lawes in 1876 and Rev. James Chalmers in 1877 and a major trip with Chalmers in 1880 behind the Owen Stanley Range made Ruatoka well known on the Papuan coast.

In the 1878 Laloki River gold rush Ruatoka and Tungane nursed sick miners in their own home. Ruatoka once carried a patient for ten miles (16 km) on his back; no native would help for fear of evil spirits. The miners presented him with a testimonial, not only for his kindness but also for his work as a mediator in land disputes. The Queensland government gave him a fine shotgun. After his first wife died, he married the Papuan widow of another teacher. His children died young, but an adopted son, Teina Materua, served the colonial government for years.

Ruatoka was an effective mediator and a successful evangelist but his teaching was described as 'vigorous ineffectiveness' by one English missionary. When Chalmers was murdered in 1901 Ruatoka offered to go to the same village to take over the work, but he was too old. He died in Port Moresby on 12 September 1903 and was buried there. His name is memorialized in Ruatoka Road, Port Moresby, Ruatoka College, Rigo, Papua, for the married student quarters in the Pacific Theological College of Suva, Fiji as well as Ruatoka Hall, Takamoa, Rarotonga. His most enduring memorials are the stories still current about him in both New Guinea and the Cook Islands.

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LMS, South Seas journal, Papua reports 1871-1900 (microfilm, National Library of Australia)

Ruatoka, one of the best-known native missionaries in New Guinea, died in September last, at the age of 57 years. For 30 years he was associated with the work of the London Missionary Society in New Guinea. He was a native of the Cook Islands, and was among the first contingent of teachers from Eastern Polynesia. Excepting New Guinea natives, he was the oldest resident. He was beloved by all who knew him, being instrumental in saving many whites from the attacks of savages. He frequently nursed fever-stricken miners through their illness.

Ruatoka's obituary in the Sydney Daily Telegraph, 23 October 1903

In "The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795 - 1895" (Lovett, 1899)
Ruatoka (bottom right) appears among the great evangelists of the Society

Ruatoka and Tungane in Port Moresby - "She was a true heroine – one of the most energetic and honoured pioneers of civilization and Christianity in New Guinea."

Tungane – ‘The Duchess Of Port Moresby’

by Rod Dixon

Tungane (d.1886) was “the daughter of a very excellent Christian couple [in Mangaia]. Her father had for many years been the missionary’s right hand man” (Lovett, 1903; 132-3). She married Ruatoka (1846 – 1903) from Tamarua, Mangaia and accompanied him to Takamoa in 1868.

Ruatoka and Tungane were among the party of six Cook Islands families settled at Manumanu, New Guinea, in November, 1872. According to Lovett, “In the first years Ruatoka and his wife had very

hard times, knowing much sickness, often suffering from hunger and their lives frequently threatened. They often had to keep watch all night, lest they should be attacked unawares... When the sick teachers were brought to Port Moresby, they nursed them day and night. Many died and Ruatoka and his wife made the coffins, superintended the digging of their graves, and gave them a Christian funeral" (Lovett, 1903; 133 – 134).

During her residence in New Guinea, from 1872 until her death in 1886, Tungane witnessed the death of many of her fellow missionaries and her own life was directly threatened numerous times. Andrew Goldie in his Memoir of 1875 -1879 indicates how febrile the atmosphere was around Port Moresby and how easily a small incident could escalate into murder -

> A woman from Anapata had been caught stealing from the mission house. The Teacher's wife [Tungane] had thrown the woman on the ground and taken the stolen article from underneath her lamia [skirt]. The natives who were present including her husband were desirous to give her a beating…There was nothing more about the matter until her brother… arrived in the village. Someone had told him, on the way, that the missionaries had been ill-treating his sister… he rushed to the village, seized four spears, and rushed back again to the Mission house with the intention of killing the Teacher.

Ruatoka went out to meet him. As the Anapata man came towards him, Ruatoka threw down his gun and attempted to wrestle the spear from the young man's hand. "At a glance," Goldie notes, "I saw that the Teacher was more than his match …" [Moore, 2012; 55]. This was the third attempt made on Ruatoka's life which, if successful, would likely have resulted in the deaths of Tungane and her children.

Marjorie Crocombe records that Tungane "seems to have been more successful at teaching" than her husband who according to Lawes "shouts and storms, scolds and whacks the desk with his stick, until the poor little mortals are half frightened out of their wits" (Langmore 2005*;* 294). According to Crocombe, "[Tungane] was New Guinea's first domestic science teacher, for she successfully taught Motu girls sewing, ironing and other domestic tasks as well as reading and writing." And, when Ruatoka accompanied the British missionaries along the coast and inland, Tungane "was left in entire charge, and she conducted schools and services" (Lovett, 1903; 137-8). It was during one of Ruatoka's many absences that a local man named Aruadaera, hearing Tungane preach, made his conversion to Christianity, becoming "the first baptized native in New Guinea" (Lovett, 1903; 137 -8). Tungane died in December 1885 (possibly January 1886) at Port Moresby. Her death was widely reported. *The Maitland Mercury* in Australia (13 March, 1886) recorded, "Few visitors have been to Port Moresby who have not

received kindness from 'the Duchess' as she was called… She was a true heroine – one of the most energetic and honoured pioneers of civilization and Christianity in New Guinea…" And when, a few months later, the chief of the Motu tribe of Port Moresby, Boevagi, died, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported (4 June, 1886) that his family arranged for him to be laid to rest by the side of Tungane "who for 10 years had been his teacher and friend."

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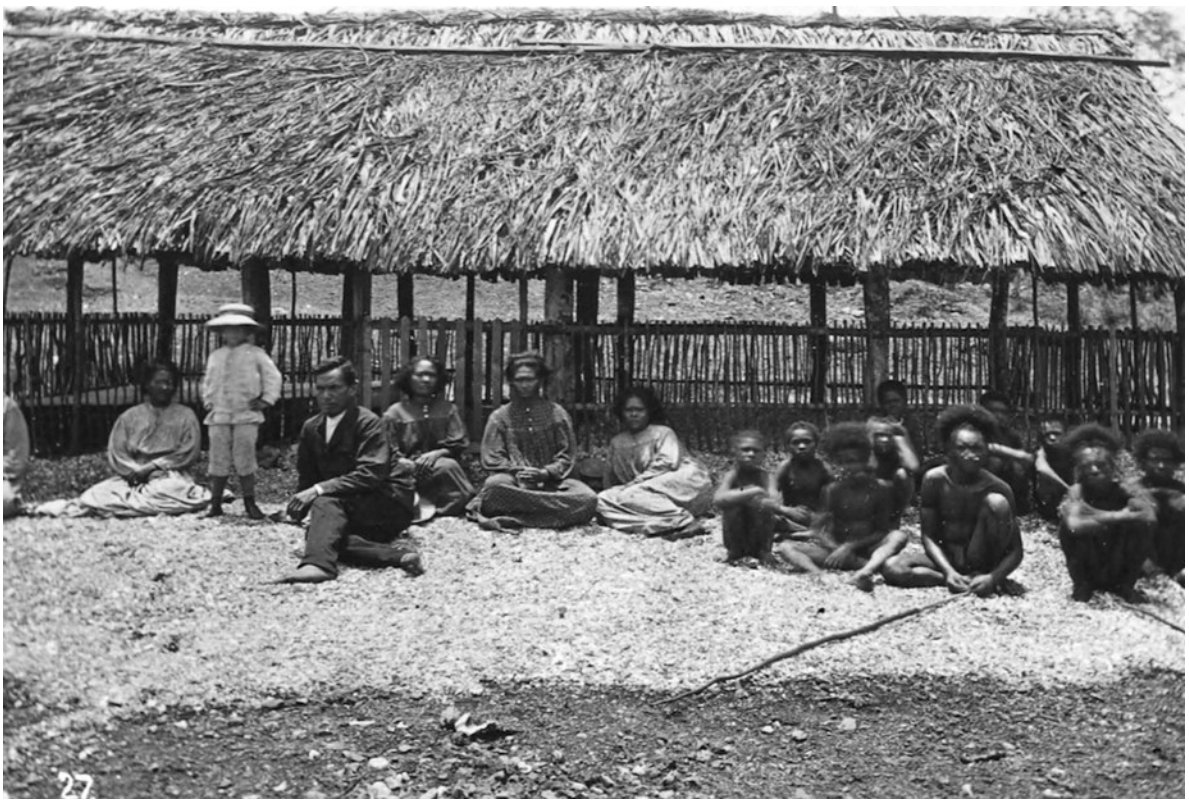
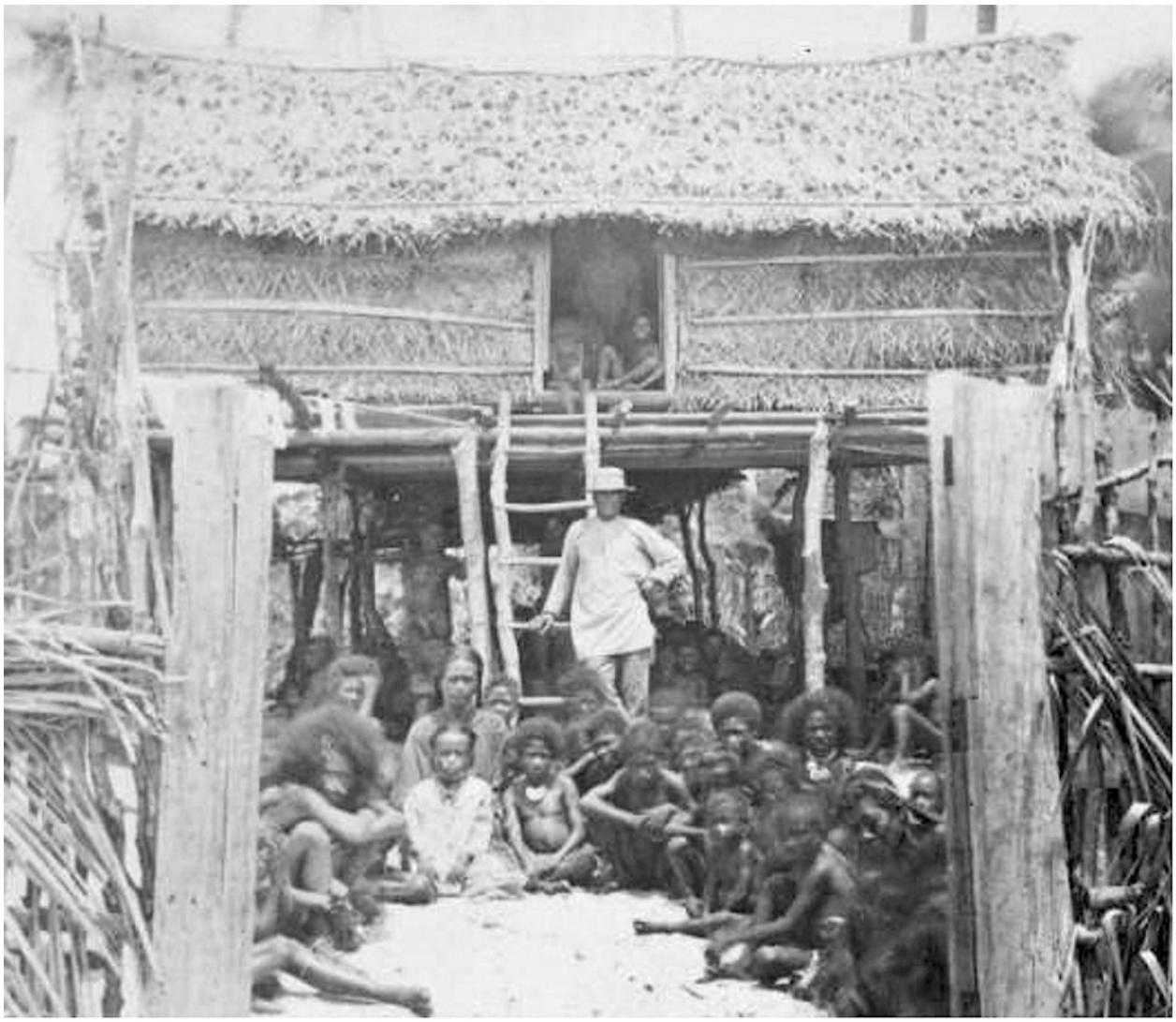


Ruatoka, Tungane and other mission family members outside the first church at Port Moresby (photo - W. G. Lawes)



Piri (standing) and Maki (seated middle with child) outside their home at Boera, New Guinea (photo – Council for World Mission, SOAS)

Maki – one of "the finest teachers sent to New Guinea."

Maki was a Mangaian woman, married to a LMS missionary to Santo in the New Hebrides. Lovett (1903:129) recounts that "In the New Hebrides, fever attacked the missionary party and all except two women [one of whom was Maki] died. The women were at first afraid they would be taken by the chiefs and kept as their wives; but one old chief took them, and treated them as his daughters. For long they waited, and every morning they used to ascend a small hill at the back of the house and scan the horizon for a sail. Even when sick with fever they used to crawl up. It was a long weary waiting, and then one of them died, leaving Maki alone... After

nearly two years, when Maki one morning ascended to the look-out, she saw a speck in the faraway distance." It was the missionary ship "John Williams" which took her to Apia. There she met Piri, from Rarotonga, who was ministering to Cook Islands migrant workers living in Samoa. They married and in 1872, when the Reverends W.W. Gill and A.W. Murray arrived at Apia with a party of 5 Cook Islands teachers and their wives, bound for Papua, "Piri and his wife [Maki] pressed Mr. Gill so hard that they might be taken to New Guinea that he consented." They formed the first LMS contingent to Papua. They later moved to their own station at Boera in March 1874 where they stayed for the next 14 years until Piri's death from dysentery on 12 January, 1889.

In addition to her other gifts, Maki was an outstanding boat-handler. Rev. Wyatt Gill wrote that "Piri's wife [Maki]... could fearlessly steer a boat through the boiling surf with perfect safety" (Gill, 1894; 362) while Rev. James Chalmers noted - 'She could take services, preach a sermon, teach in school, superintend work about the station, take charge of a boat, and handle it well in the worst of weather" (Chalmers, 1889, 301).

Maki was supposed to have gone home to Mangaia but, just over a year after Piri's death, she passed away in May 1889 in New Guinea. Chalmers regarded them as "two of the finest teachers sent to New Guinea." They are buried side by side at Boera.

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A Register of Mangaian Missionaries Overseas 1840 - 1910

About 500 Cook Islands Missionaries were sent out by the London Missionary Society, first to Samoa, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), and to the northern atolls (Penrhyn, Manihiki, Rakahanga and Pukapuka), and finally to Papua/New Guinea in 1872. This register is of Mangaians who travelled overseas as missionaries between 1840 – 1910 and is drawn from various lists, particularly the student register at Takamoa, LMS Records, *Musgraves Register of LMS Teachers to Papua to 1885,* Moeka'a (2024) and the memorial to missionaries in the Oneroa churchyard, Mangaia (*marked with an asterisk*). Efforts are currently underway to recover the names of the orometua wives who played an equally important role in missionary work.

Ingoa	Tak No.	Enter Takamoa	Depart Takamoa	Location of service	District(s)	Takamoa Status	Yrs	Va'ine	
Arerakau*				NH Tanna					
Marutanga	19	Dec 1841	Jan 1845	NH Tanna		Died Samoa			
Rangia	20	Dec 1841	Jan 1845	NH Tanna					
Paku*			1845	CI Mitiaro					
Rauraa*			Jan 1849	CI Mitiaro					
Kaiaau	50	Sept 1846	Nov 1857	CI Penrhyn		Left LMS to go pearlshell diving			
Parepou*	53	Sept 1846	1848	NH Aneityum		Dismissed			
Tamua*			1848 1852 1856	CI Arutanga CI Arorangi CI Atiu					
Kaui	69	Mar 1847	May 1848	NH Tanna		Died Tanna 1850			
Ruku (single man)	71	Mar 1847	Jan 1849	NH Aneityum		Died Aneityum			
Kakorua	72	Mar 1847	1857	NC Lifu, Uea					
Akaea	74	17 May 1847	Mar 1852	NH Aneityum		Returned 1854			
Tauri	76	17 May 1848	Mar 1852	NH Efate Sandwich Isl		Died Efate 185?			
Tukā	78	17 May 1848.	Mar 1857	NH Eromanga NC Mare	1857-74	Returned Mangaia	17		
Vaaru	80	17 May1848	Nov 1852	NH Efate		Murdered Efate 1852 or 1854			
Kaveriri	108	Mar 1852	May 1853	NH Efate		Killed with wife and child [at Lolopa] 20 Nov 1854			
Poito	110	Mar 1852	May 1853	NC Mare		Died at Mare, 1857			
Taoiti	124	June 1853	1854	CI Penrhyn		Died in service			
Kaiau*				CI Penrhyn	1857				
Toma	161	Apr 1857	May 1858	NH Efate		Died in service			
Niki	164	Apr 1857	Nov 1857	CI Penrhyn		Ret. Ill Jan 1859			

Lameka	177	Nov 1857	8 July 1861	NH Eromanga		Died in service			
Vaitari	183	Jan 1859	8 July 1861	NH Eromanga					
Teanaroa	194	Aug 1859		CI Rakahanga					
Koreiti	196	Aug 1859		CI Mauke					
Taurae	223	Mar 1862		Samoa		Returned			
Ketamange	252	Mar 1864				Died in service			
Nehemia	268	Sept 1867	22 Oct 1870	"Gone West"		Died Jan 1872			
Ruatoka	274	June 1870	10 Jun 1872	Papua	Redscar Bay, then Port Moresby, October 1872	Died Papua 12 Sept 1903	31	Tungane	Mangaia
Maki (f)					Santo, New Hebrides Samoa Redscar Bay, then Port Moresby October 1872	Died Boera May 1889	14 in Papua	Husband Piri	
Teria	286	Aug 1871	May 1874	Papua	Poribada, 1874	Died Papua 10 July 1875	1	His wife returned 1876	
Pekarima	288	Aug 1871	May 1874	Papua	Pari, November 1874	Died Papua 20 May 1875	1	His wife returned 1876	
Motu	304	June 1872	May 1874	Papua	Pari, November 1874	Died Papua 29 Jan 1875	1	His wife remarried Anederea and both were killed at Kalo, 1881	
Materua	308	June 1872	1876	Papua	October 1876, Kalo	Killed Kalo 8 Mar 1881 with wife and 2 children	5		
Tipoki Kavere	314	Nov 1873	1878	Papua	November 1878, Maiva	Reappointed to Papua 1883		His wife died at Aroma. He remarried Ngatemotu Araori, widow of Tekovi	
Parengo*			July 1877	CI Mitiaro					
Urunga[iti]	321	May 1874	July 1879	CI Pukapuka		Dismissed 1883			
Kumu	353	June 1875	13 Jul 1880	CI Mitiaro		Died 1888			

Mareare	355	June 1875	1878	Papua		Died Papua			
Tekovi (born Jan 1848 – father Reingatoto)	376	July 1877	23 Dec 1881	Papua	April 1882 Delena	Died Papua 1882	1	First wife Atanga Taoi Teakatauira, b.1853; second wfe Nga'itemotu Araori Mangaia – she remarried Tipoki on Tekovi's death	
Karere	380	10 Oct 1877	July 1883	CI Pukapuka					
Pi	408		1884	CI Mauke 1884-99		App. Titikaveka 1902-09	25		
Mataraangaua	438	July 1882	18 Dec 1885	Papua		Died Papua 18903	7		
Ka	452	Aug 1883	29 Aug 1887	Papua		Returned 1887			
Aiteina (1853 – 1943) Son of Mamae	454	Dec 1883	Nov 1887	CI Titikaveka				Wife - Tangamaki	
Akaearua	456	Dec 1883	29 Aug 1888	Papua		Killed Papua 1889	1		
Tangirakau	458	Dec 1883	29 Aug 1888	Papua					
Tarikainga	488	Sept. 1887	5 July 1889	Papua	Dec 1898 at Vailala, NG	Died Papua 1900	11	See his letter in *Fugitive Papers* No 8, April 1899 p.7	
Matareu	538	22 Aug1891	11 Dec 1897	Papua	[Naara > 1910?]	Returned July 1896 Dis(A)			
Akaeakore (died 1944)	548	2 Feb 1892	6 Dec 1895	Papua	Namau	Returned NG 28 9 1905	9	Wife - Kiritoa?	
Takapikore*									
Teinakore	554	19 May1893	11 Dec 1897	Papua	Ipisia 1899	Returned ill 1905	7		See his letter written to *Te Karere* no 14 June 1900 p.14
Tuamingi	556	19 May1893	11 Dec 1897	Papua	Gulf	Returned ill 1906	8		
Terepai	558	19 May1893	1896	CI Tauhunu					
Noongo	560	19 May1893	1897	CI Ivirua					

Maiti	562	17 Jun 1893	11 Dec 1897	Papua	Gulf	Died Papua 1898	0.5		
Pakuiti	566	1 Sept 1893	11 Dec. 1897	Papua	Motumotu			second wife "Uamaki, daughter of the chief judge of Ivirua"	(*Fugitive Papers* November 1898 p.7)
Mate (1867 – 1937)	570	31 Oct 1894 Jun 1904	1905	CI Oneroa		App. Ivirua 1906		Wife – Tangiana or Metuamaru	
Rongomate	576	3 Nov 1894	Oct 1899	Papua	Orokolo	On furlough, died May 1910 [Mangaia?]	10		
Maui/Mairi?	578	3 Nov 1894	Oct 1901	Papua					
Kauareiti/Kauvereiti	592	Sept 1896	1900	CI Mauke 1900 - 04		Retired May 1909			
Tauri*				CI Mauke c. 1914					
Tutara*				CI Arutanga					
Paneke	594	5 Sept 1896	Oct 1901	Papua				d. 1910	
Maki				Mauke c. 1924 -1930					
Aratai Teaia (1870 – 1943)	596	5 Sept 1896	Oct 1901	Papua		Returned 1906 wife ill	5	Wife - Nekeare	Hutchin 26 June1896, SSL, Box 44, Folder 1, Jacket B
Mateatea a Tao	598	5 Sept 1896	Oct 1901	Papua				Wife – Tugnanetangi a Kaupo	
Manoa (1867 – 1921)	600	5 Sept 1896	Oct 1901	Papua		Returned ill; App. Ivirua 1901			
Lazaro ('Rataro') 1869 -1939	610	Oct 1898	2 Oct 1902	Papua		Returned 1908 "Unsuitable, lazy".		Wife - Moeavaiki	
Iviiti	614	Oct 1898	2 Oct 1902	Papua	Mailu	Returned Dis(A)		Wife - Tautai	Ivirua
Ben (Peni)	616	Oct 1898	2 Oct 1902	Papua					
Raiapinga (1870 – 1944)	632	Jul 1900	21 Sep 1903	Papua		Dismissed. Reappointed.		Wife - Rima	CI Public Records

Son of Tekovi and Atanga									
Tongia	634	Jul 1900	21Sep 1903	Papua		[Furlough, died in Raro. -- or Mangaia?]			
Teioarii	654	4 Oct 1901	28 Sep 1905	Papua					
Uzia	656	4 Oct 1901	28 Sep 1905	Papua		Returned			
Rurutaura	658	4 Oct 1901	8 Oct 1906	Papua		Returned "Unsuitable, not able to learn"			
Mataa	676	Oct 1902	14 Oct 1909	Papua	Mailu	[Returned Dism. for bad conduct]		Talailalo	Pukapuka
Rima	690	Sep 1903	8 Oct 1907	Papua				Wife - Taiti	
Koi	710	28 Aug 1905	1910	Papua	Orokolo			Wife - Kitekore	
Tamore	716	Aug 1905	1910	Papua	Kerepunu	Returned			

FIGURE 1. Drawing of Mamae.
Source: William Wyatt Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1894; repr. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1984), 365.

Appendix 3

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Mamae of Mangaia: 19th Century Pastor and Tribal Historian

Michael Reilly

Introduction

Mamae lived his whole life on Mangaia where he became a much valued and esteemed pastor (*'orometua*) in the London Missionary Society (LMS). He was also a highly respected tribal historian who, in his adult years, wrote down much of what he knew for his friend, the missionary, William Wyatt Gill. Mamae's recorded traditions remain the foundations of our knowledge of ancient Mangaia. When he was born early in the 19th century, Mangaia was an independent land ruled by a hierarchy of tribal leaders, with limited connections to the wider world of eastern Oceania and beyond. But during his adult life, his land became increasingly linked up with other Pacific Islands through the agency of the LMS, although Mangaia continued to be ruled by its Indigenous leaders. The missionaries called this cluster of connected islands the Hervey Group, with the church headquartered initially in the Society Islands, then in Rarotonga. The Hervey Group spread across a widely dispersed range of culturally distinctive lands, from Pukapuka and Tongareva (Penrhyn) in the north down to Mangaia lying south east of Rarotonga, almost on the fringe of tropical Polynesia.

Amongst Mamae's many literary outputs is a collection of letters that he wrote over the span of almost forty years. Through the words inscribed on paper with pen and ink, and intended for a specific reader or audience, we can almost touch the hidden personality of their author. Some of Mamae's letters, especially to Gill, present an intimate view of him as he acts in and experiences his world. In others, such as those intended for the LMS, Mamae assumes a more formal personality as a community or church spokesperson. That connection between reader and writer is one of the pleasures of letters. They are a special kind of historical artifact. That closeness requires readers to show a respect for the words that a writer chooses to represent themselves. For an author like Mamae, recognized by his peers as a skilled user of *te tara Mangaia* (the Mangaian language), [1] attention to his own words is particularly important. In this paper I have extensively quoted passages from his letters that illuminate aspects of his life as a young

person growing up, as a churchman, a community leader and representative, a tribal historian and man of the land. These passages are complemented by what his contemporaries wrote about him in order to paint a more complete portrait of Mamae and his world. His words, crafted in his country's language, provide us with a rare window into how one Mangaian experienced and acted on his island's social and cultural stage; one in which he played a not insignificant part.

At the beginning of his life Mamae was known as Koroa-iti, but after he converted he acquired the baptismal name Sadaraka (from Shadrach in the Old Testament's Book of Daniel). During his adult life, he also became known by his third name, Mamae (Sorrow), adopted to remember the death of a child. [2] In some of his letters below he signs himself, Mamaerua. [3] Mission texts commonly call him Sadaraka, but in this paper I use the name by which he is more commonly known today, Mamae.

To aid the reader I have modified Mamae's punctuation. I have inserted diacritics (macrons, hamzahs) in his Mangaian texts to reflect modern linguistic usages, however, I have not altered his older spelling (for example, *'ekalesia*, *medua* etc). Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

Ancestry and Early Life

Mamae's paternal line was an illustrious one in the Ngāti Mautara *kōpū* (clan): he was a direct descendant of the eponymous ancestor. [4] His father, Tau'apepe, was the composer of one of several laments for the slain Atatoa. According to Gill, 'this is considered by native critics to be by far the finest of this whole set of laments'. [5] Mamae's earlier male ancestors counted several influential tribal leaders, at least three of whom held office as *te mangaia*, the highest chiefly title on the island: Koroa, Pōtiki and Mautara. The evidence from traditions shows Mautara to be one of the most able *mangaia* title holders in the island's history. Unlike other *mangaia* he was not a warrior but, rather, a superb strategic thinker who established many alliances through inter-tribal marriages, thereby fostering and supporting ancestors of key descent groups that subsequently went on to shape Mangaia's later history. He was also the medium for the important *atua* (spirit power, spiritual being, god, deity), Mōtoro, worshipped by the prestigious Ngāriki *ivi* (tribe, people), a group that ultimately descended from the island's most powerful pre-Christian *atua*, Rongo. Koroa and Tau'apepe were both first-born sons ('tama mua'); a position of distinction. [6] Mamae's Ngāti Mautara genealogy was one of great *mana* (spiritually endowed authority). [7]

Mautara
'Īkoke
Pōtiki
Koroa = Rurungapu

Tau‘apepe
Koroa-iti

The genealogical evidence indicates that Mamae was the eldest surviving child of his father’s marriage. [8] However, the most influential figure in the young Mamae’s life was his grandfather after whom he was named, Koroa-iti (Little Koroa). In fact, Mamae was brought up by him, and presumably by Tau‘apepe’s mother, Rurungapu. [9] As a male Mamae had an especially close relationship with his grandfather: only Mamae was permitted to eat with him. [10] Such a relationship reflects an important cultural practice, that of *tamariki ‘āngai*, whereby children, or grandchildren (*mokopuna*), are given to other family members to raise. Typically, a first-born *mokopuna* like Mamae would be given or requested by grandparents. This had an important consequence for Mamae as his grandfather took responsibility, as part of the *‘āngai* principle, not only to feed him but also to educate him in tribal knowledge.

Koroa was a man of *mana* in Ngāti Mautara. His father, Pōtiki, had been one of the more successful holders of the *mangaia* title. Since these chiefly rulers normally gained their title by defeating a competitor in battle, a *mangaia* had to be a skilled warrior and tactician, but even more importantly, he had to be able to manage other powerful and ambitious tribal leaders in order to prevail in a fight and, just as importantly, to form an effective government. As Koroa grew to maturity Pōtiki identified his son as having potential as a future leader for during his reign he gave him a role in his governing of the island. Some little time after his father’s reign ended, Koroa defeated his successor in battle and became the *mangaia* himself, although his reign does not appear to have lasted very long. [11] Amongst his other claims to fame, Koroa was a poet of distinction, with a number of his works written down by Mamae for Gill, who thought them amongst the finest songs created by pre-Christian Mangaians. Koroa was also a *tīrango moana* (an expert in fishing knowledge and ritual). [12] There was much he could teach his *mokopuna*.

In 1873 Mamae, the respected pastor, wrote about his early life:

> ‘E tamaiti ‘oki au nā te diapolo, ... nō roto mai ‘oki au i te tuātau ‘ētene. I arataki‘ia nā au e tōku ai metua ki runga i te marae o te diapolo. Kua ‘ākara tōku mata i tēta‘i tamaki, ē kāre i roa taua tuātau rā, kua tae mai te tuatua ora a Iesu. [13]
>
> I was a child of the devil, ... [born] in the heathen times. I was led by my fathers onto the devil’s marae. My eyes observed one battle, and not long after that time, the living word of Jesus arrived.

Mamae’s appearance on the *marae* in the company of his male elders may allude to the naming ritual which occurred on the *marae* of the *atua* to which a child had been dedicated soon after

birth. A group of young people was summoned to that god's *marae*, and in a public ceremony presided over by the island's pre-eminent religious leader, the *ariki pā uta*, accompanied by other priestly mediums, the children and youths were ritually named and recognized, both by the *atua* and their communities. In Mamae's case, he was dedicated to Mōtoro, one of the island's three major tribal deities, as were many others in Ngāti Mautara, and so would have gone to one of that *atua*'s *marae* for his public naming, most likely its principal one, Araʻata, in the western *puna* (district) of Keiʻā. [14]

Mamae's observation of a battle shortly before the arrival of Christianity indicates that he was involved in the battle of Araʻeva, located on a ridgeline on the far side of the valley from Araʻata. [15] These were challenging times for the Ngāti Mautara people. When Mamae's grandfather, Koroa, was defeated in battle (at Rangiʻura in Veitātei *puna*), he was replaced as *te mangaia* by Makitaka, from another branch of Ngāti Mautara. Like Koroa, Makitaka's reign did not last long. He was replaced peacefully by Pangemiro, a descendant of one of the men (Manaʻune) whom Mautara had protected and supported. For the first time since Mautara's lifetime, the Ngāti Mautara had lost control of the levers of power to other descent groups.

The battle of Araʻeva was the culmination of a campaign by Ngāti Mautara and its supporters to get rid of Pangemiro and his people and regain control of the *mangaia* title. In this, Mamae's kin were ultimately unsuccessful. [16] Koroa was clearly a participant in this campaign: in one incident he went out of his way to insult Arokapiti, one of Pangemiro's key supporters, suggesting his head was not *tapu* (sacred, restricted, under the influence of *atua*). Early in the battle, as compensation for this deeply insulting remark, Arokapiti sought out Koroa and killed him and another warrior, possibly his son, Tauʻapepe. [17] Mamae confirmed these deaths and his participation to Gill: '[He] saw his father Tauapepe and his grandfather Koroa, after whom he is named, fall in [deleted the, added a] battle fought about a year before the introduction of Christianity'. [18]

When someone like Arokapiti wanted to attack a particular opponent during a battle in response to an earlier insult, they would stand opposite their target when the armies formed up in ranks to face one another. During fighting the eldest son stood to his father's right to protect his head, so that it seems likely both Koroa and Tauʻapepe went down together in the same attack. [19] Mamae would have been close to them when they perished since families fought as a unit in battle, with the younger males standing in the rear where they carried spare weapons and baskets of stones which they would launch at the enemy ranks using slings (*maka*). This would have been Mamae's position in the battle. As Koroa's *mokopuna* he would have received extensive training in the use of various hand weapons as part of his education. [20] It is hard to say precisely how old Mamae was at this time. Later missionaries estimated his age at over 50 years in 1867 and 65 years in 1873 which suggest birth dates around 1817 and 1808

respectively. [21] Te Rangihīroa (Peter Buck) reports that youths were observed closely in their first battle to see how well they acquitted themselves as warriors. [22] The *ariki*, Nūmangātini, recalled that he was ‘a lad’ at his first battle (Te Atuapai) when he too carried a basket of stones for a sling, but had ‘attained to manhood’ by his second battle (Rangiʻura). [23] Since Araʻeva occurred around 1821 or 1822, this suggests an 1808 birth date might be about right, as Mamae would have been 13 or 14 years of age by the estimated time of the battle.

At Araʻeva other important Ngāti Mautara leaders also died, underscoring how decisive this defeat was for them. It became the grave of any ambitions by Ngāti Mautara to regain their dominance over the island. In several of his more important historical texts written about the succession of holders of the *mangaia* title, Mamae gives details about this conflict at Araʻeva, but nowhere does he link himself to what must have been a personally painful and traumatic event. [24]

The living word of Jesus that Mamae refers to came in two waves to Mangaia. The first in 1823 was unsuccessful in that the people rejected the brief visit by Papeiha, Tauā and Haʻavi, young *ʻorometua* from the LMS’s base in the Society and Leeward Islands. The Araʻeva battle occurred before this event. A major epidemic shortly after that 1823 visit convinced a number of Mangaians to accept the next *ʻorometua*, Davida and Tīʻare from Tahaʻa in the Leeward Islands, when they came ashore in 1824. The leaders of the descent groups that came to power with Pangemiro (Ngāti Manaʻune and Ngāti Tāne), along with the *ariki pā uta* of the day (Nūmangātini), permitted them to spread the Christian message. [25]

Mamae explains what happened following the arrival of Christianity.

> Ē kua mou tētaʻi pae i te tuatua a Iesu. Tei te ʻētene te maʻata o te tangata. Kua tupu ʻakaʻou tētaʻi tamaki, ē kua ʻautū te aronga i mou i te tuatua nā te Atua. Ē kua ʻope maīra [te] tangata i te mou i tā Iesu, ʻakaruke atūra i tā te diapolo au rāvenga kikino. Ē kua tupu te ʻau o Iesu ē tāna tuatua i teia mānga ʻenua iti ʻua nei. Kāre rā i mārama tika [a]i, ē kia tae mai i te au taeake nei, koia ʻoki ngā ʻorometua papaʻā nei. I kite ai te ʻāite ʻanga o te tuatua ora, ē te tū o te au ʻākono ʻanga, ē te tū tika [a]i o tō Iesu matenga, ē te rāvenga e tae ai te tangata i te Atua rā. [26]
>
> One side stayed with the word of Jesus. The majority of the people were with the heathens. Another battle occurred again, and the party who abided with the word of God was victorious. All the people embraced Jesus, abandoning the devil’s wicked works. The reign of Jesus flourished, and his word, in this little bit of a land. But it was really not clear until the friends arrived here, that is, the European missionaries. [Then we] understood the meaning of the living word, and the nature of the way of doing things, and the true nature of Jesus’s death, and the way people came to God.

The language Mamae uses for the battle and its aftermath echoes his other writings concerning what turned out to be the final contest for the *mangaia* title. In these other texts the reign is taken by the word of God (‘riro mai ra te ‘au i te tara a te Atua’), or the reign of Jesus (‘te ‘au o Iesu nei’), and the defeated are gathered into the word of God (‘‘Ua rēviri mai te aō i roto i te tara a te Atua’). [27] This final battle took place in February 1828 at Te Ara-a-Tangaroa in Poutoa in the Tamarua *puna* on the eastern side of Mangaia. [28] This is also where the defeated Ngāti Mautara had settled after Ara‘eva, [29] about as far away as they could get from that ignominious memory. It seems reasonable to suppose that the young Mamae was living there also. Whereas Mamae participated in Ara‘eva, this is much less certain for Poutoa. His other historical writings say less about this battle than the one at Ara‘eva. Tereāvai (also known as Te Maru), a priestly medium in Ngāti Mautara, led the adherents to tribal *atua* at the battle of Poutoa. However, his force comprised only a part of those outside the Christian community which rather suggests that the survivors of Mamae’s branch, amongst others, opted to stay out of the fighting. [30] As Mamae makes clear in all his texts on this period, those outside the Christian party finally had to accommodate the new reality.

Mamae’s comments regarding a lack of clarity and understanding of the Christian message allude to the shortcomings of early *‘orometua* in regard to their theological understanding and pastoral practice. [31] A similar view was expressed in a 1904 land court hearing in Oneroa: ‘Natives brought the Gospel here they knew little but Gill taught them properly & they gave up their evil ways’. [32] Such limitations are reflected in the actions of early church leaders in the 1830s. On the one hand, there were conciliatory gestures made towards the defeated peoples in the years after 1828, such as provision of planting lands in Tamarua and the selection of leaders like Tereāvai to represent them as deacons in the church. On the other, coercion on the part of Christians exacerbated existing tensions; for example, captives from the battle were taken to the Christian settlement of Oneroa where they were made to learn how to read and write. [33] Even after conversion the Oneroa-based authorities used coercion to force people from other districts to reside there. The various *‘orometua* also split up into mutually hostile church factions, each supported by their own party of followers. To resolve these difficulties the Papa‘ā missionaries in Rarotonga sent the *‘orometua*, Maretu, to take charge in 1839. This marked the transfer of the island from Tahitian to Rarotongan supervision, including a shift to church use of Rarotongan Māori in place of the Tahitian language. Maretu remained until a Papa‘ā missionary was stationed there in 1845. As part of his efforts to resolve the various sources of conflict afflicting Mangaia and to unite the church community, Maretu also evangelized the many non-Christian families still living in the hinterland. This resulted in a number of the young moving to Oneroa where they learned to read and write and to study the bible in school classes; the prerequisite for membership in the church community (the *‘ekalesia*). [34] This presumably was the path taken by Mamae himself some time after the battle at Poutoa. Concerning his own conversion he later wrote, perhaps echoing his namesake Shadrach’s emergence from Nebuchadnezzar’s furnace

(‘umu’ in the Rarotongan bible), ‘‘e kōmotu a‘i ‘oki au i kiriti‘ia mai nō roto i tāna umu’ (I was a fire brand pulled from within his [the devil’s] oven). [35]

In 1834 Mamae married his life partner, Aravao, who died around 1879. [36] Soon after her death, Mamae wrote to Wyatt Gill about that partnership:

> Ka ‘aere atu ai ‘ia kite mata atu i tō tātou Ariki mata kakā. Pēnei ake ‘ua no‘o pa‘a i tōna pa‘aki a Mamaerua va‘ine. Tē tangi nei rāi tēta‘i pae manako kōivi iāia, mā te ma‘ara rāi ē. Ko au [37] tē ka ‘aere atu iāia rā, kāre ‘aia e ‘oki mai iāku nei. E tangi kōivi ‘ua rā teia, nō te mea, ko te 45 teia o tō māua mata‘iti i te no‘o kāpiti ‘anga i teia ao, mei te rā i riro mai ai ‘aia ‘ei tokorua nōku. I ‘akaipoipo‘ia māua i te mata‘iti 1834. Ē teianei, ‘ua tae tika i te tara ē, nā te mate e tatara ia māua, ē kua matara kua ‘aere ‘aia, ē kua no‘o taka‘ua au. Ko te Atua tōku tokorua, ē ko ta‘u [‘ānau ?] i te ‘āngai i ta‘u kōivi. ... ‘E mate tangi tō te va‘ine, ē ta‘u Takiaua. Tērā te potonga pūē nō te ‘enua nei ‘ua mātau koe. ‘Ua akatūkē‘ia rā e au. ‘Tangi te va‘ine tangi rā ē, e aro‘a ‘ua te tangi, i raka rava e Gilirua te tangi i te va‘ine ka rua ake nei’. Nā te kōivi ‘ua ia tara, ē tama. Ōtira ‘ua i reira. [38]
>
> I will go and see with my own eyes our Lord with shining eyes. Perhaps I shall rest in the dwelling place of Mrs Mamaerua. I truly mourn the bodily remembrance of her. I am the one who will go to her; she cannot return to me. This is just mourning the body, because we had 45 years living together in this world, from the day she became my partner. We married in the year 1834. And now, I come straight to the word, [39] that we are separated by death; and that she has become divided and gone, while I live on my own. God is my partner, while my family feeds my body. ... This is a woman’s death lament, o my Friend. Here is a portion of a chant from this land that you are familiar with. I have altered it. ‘Weeps the woman weeps, the weeping shows tender affection, that is the reason Gilirua (Wyatt Gill) weeps for the woman a second [time]’. [40] Those words simply concern the body, o sir. That’s enough of that.

In 1881 Mamae briefly mentions Aravao again after touching on the ill health of Gill’s wife, Mary (she died in Rarotonga on 12 July 1883): ‘Tērā ta‘u tangi iāia, nō kore i mua i tō mata mei ia Mamae va‘ine i mua i ta‘u mata e ngaro ‘ua atu tōna kōivi’. (My sympathies with her, because [she] will disappear before your eyes, like Mrs Mamae whose body was lost before my eyes.) [41] Together Mamae and Aravao had 11 children, the first-born named Tau‘apepe, in remembrance of Mamae’s own father. [42] In his letter Mamae makes much of the Christian distinction between a transitory, mortal body (‘kōivi’) and an everlasting life where the believer dwells in the presence of the ‘Ariki mata kakā’ (Lord with shining eyes). The quotation from an ancient lament is an appropriate conclusion to his appreciation of his late partner, and reflects the kinds of knowledge that Mamae had often shared with Gill over many decades. In Mamae’s alteration, the lines allude to their shared mourning for Aravao’s passing. Bereft and alone Mamae received comfort from his strong belief in God and the support of his extensive family who looked after him in his twilight years.

Deacon and Pastor

The Rarotonga-based missionary, William Gill, was given oversight of Maretu and the Mangaian mission in 1839. [43] He came to Mangaia for a five-month residence between June and September 1841. [44] Writing in 1873 Mamae identifies the Papa‘ā missionaries who resided in Mangaia during his lifetime: Gilimetua (William Gill), Misi Gilo (George Gill), Gilirua (William Wyatt Gill) and Misi Haresi (George Alfred Harris). These men were to play an important part in Mamae’s life.

> Nā rātou ‘oki i ‘akataka iāku ‘ei tauturu ia rātou i te rave i tēta‘i pae o te ‘anga‘anga tapu nei. ... I te mata‘iti ‘ē 41 i tīmata ai au i te rave rikiriki i tāna ‘anga‘anga tapu nei. Ē kia tae i te mata‘iti ‘ē 48, kua tono te ‘orometua iāku e ‘aere au i tēta‘i ‘ōire e ‘akakite ia rātou i te ora a te Atua. Ē kia tae i te mata‘iti ‘ē 52, kua ‘oki mai au i tōku ‘ōire tika [a]i. Kua no‘o a Gilirua i taua ‘ōire rā, ... Ē kia tae i te mata‘iti ‘ē 57, kua tono ‘aka‘ou a Gilirua iāku e ‘oki au i taua ‘ōire rā. Kua ‘aere mai aia i te ‘ōire ma‘ata i Oneroa nei, nō te mea kua ‘aere a Gili i Rarotonga. ... Ē kia tae i te mata‘iti ‘ē 60, kua ‘oki mai au i Oneroa nei rāi i te pae o te ‘orometua. ... Ē kia tae i te mata‘iti ‘ē 71, kua tae mai a Misi Haresi nei, i te marama ia Aperila, i te rā ‘ē 24. Ē kia tae i te 72 o te mata‘iti, kua ‘aere atu a Gilirua. Ē kua no‘o au i tō Haresi pae e teianoa [a]i. Kua tae i te 32 ōku mata‘iti i te rāvenga i te ‘anga‘anga a tō tātou tumurangatira. [45]

> They [the Papa‘ā missionaries] selected me to assist them to do some part of the holy work. ... In the year 1841 I tried to do a little of his holy work. When it came to 1848, the missionary bid me to go to another village and to make known to them the life of God. When it came to the year 1852, I returned to my own village. Wyatt Gill dwelt at that yonder village, ... When it came to the year 1857, Wyatt Gill again bid me to return to that village. He went to the large village of Oneroa because George Gill was going to Rarotonga. ... When it came to the year 1860, I returned to Oneroa to be at the side of the missionary . ... When it came to the year 1871, Mr Harris arrived, in the month of April, the 24th day. When it came to the year 1872, Wyatt Gill left. I then stayed at Harris’s side, up until now. I have attained to 32 years of doing the work of our great master.

Mamae records his first service as occurring in 1841, presumably during William Gill’s residency when Mamae seems to have been appointed to a church role. He may have become a deacon in the Oneroa church for in 1848 this was the position he held when George Gill appointed him as the new pastor in Tamarua village, following the death of the incumbent (Anania) in September. [46] Judging from George Gill’s description, Mamae impressed him:

> He has been my assistant from the first of my landing here & is a man of superior knowledge for a native. For many years he has cherished a desire to go far hence among the Gentiles, but it seemed to be more his duty to stay at home. For 1 year he was with me for 3 evenings of every week instructing me in the langauge, and at the same time receiving illumination for himself from the word of God,

> indeed he has always been storing his mind anxious to receive and communicate the knowledge of the word of life. The Churches unanimously elected him to the office he now fills. [47]

From Gill's arrival in 1845 Mamae became his assistant and personal instructor in the Mangaian language. In exchange, Gill provided him private instruction in bible studies. Mamae proved an exemplary student. His ability to remember what he had learned may have been a skill he acquired during his orally based education with Koroa, when students were required to memorize large bodies of information. Mamae's desire to become a missionary to non-Christians elsewhere was one he shared with other devout church members. The best were often recruited for the LMS's institution in Rarotonga where they received training as pastors. For example, William Gill took some Mangaian youths there for training in 1841. [48] Many served the LMS in their various Pacific missions, as well as more locally. [49] It would seem that Mamae's position assisting the European *'orometua* meant he could not be spared for missionary work. That the local churches unanimously endorsed Mamae's appointment to Tamarua reflected the esteem in which he was held within the *'ekalesia*. That community regard may have brought Mamae to Gill's attention when he first arrived to begin his mission work on the island.

Although often called teachers, like other Indigenous *'orometua* Mamae's work was that of a pastor in the strict sense of the term. As Wyatt Gill explains, these leaders regularly preached and taught their congregations (using sermons they had composed), administered the Lord's supper, baptized infants, and received and instructed candidates seeking church fellowship. [50] Mamae actually continued to serve at Tamarua until July 1853 (rather than till 1852 as he later thought) when this 'excellent teacher' returned with his family to Oneroa. [51] His time at Tamarua overlapped with Wyatt Gill's who went there in 1852, allowing them to get to know each other well. [52] In 1857 George Gill was reassigned to Rarotonga. This required Wyatt Gill to take his place at Oneroa while Mamae returned as *'orometua* in Tamarua. [53] Wyatt Gill assessed Mamae's character at the time he resumed duties there.

> He is a man of the right spirit; – eminently humble and devoted; – possessing a good share of intelligence and energy. I have great confidence in him. He is a tried man; and is held in high esteem amongst his fellow countrymen. [54]

In December 1859 Gill reassigned Mamae to Oneroa to assist him, [55] the changeover occurring, to judge from Mamae's words, the following year. Mamae remained in this role for the rest of his service. Although often described as an assistant, Mamae's role was more significant than that title might suggest. Gill later called him his co-pastor. [56] When Harris succeeded Gill he regularly referred to Mamae as his coadjutor. [57] As part of that role, he would substitute for Harris when the latter was unwell. [58] When Harris was planning his

furlough to England he gave Mamae ‘the general superintendence’ of the Oneroa church and its staff. [59] As an *‘orometua* Harris put him on a par with Maretu. [60]

In later years Mamae began to suffer from ailments that impacted upon but never ended his mission service. Late in 1867 Gill reported that Mamae’s eyesight had got so bad he had ‘to hold the Bible close to his face when reading. I am afraid he will get blind’. Gill requested the LMS send him pebble glasses, clearly hoping their high degree of magnification might help. [61] The following year Gill reported the eyes of his ‘valued assistant’ remained bad, and as a result he could no longer superintend the children’s school, which was one of Mamae’s responsibilities. Although he was replaced in that role by another teacher, Gill explained that he ‘is altogether too valuable to be dispensed with. The weight of his character and extensive influence; his excellent preaching talents; and his good service for many past years render him still a valuable assistant’. [62] He was ‘a most gifted but humble-minded man [who] has been most faithfully and usefully engaged for His Master’. [63] Spectacles may eventually have been provided, allowing Mamae to continue working. He would have had to purchase them by selling trade goods. Thus some years later he mentions awaiting an improved crop of *māniota* (manioc, cassava, *Manihot esculenta* Crantz) in order to provide him the income to purchase some glasses (‘ēta‘i tīti‘a mata’). [64]

Despite Mamae’s advanced age and health issues, he remained someone Gill wished to keep at his side, despite the consequential limitations on Mamae’s pastoral role. Gill’s successor, George Harris, held similar views: Mamae was his ‘aged & much esteemed coadjutor’. [65] Harris, writing in 1883, considered him a ‘clear & intelligent preacher’ although the effects of age and his other debilities meant he was not ‘what he once was’. [66] By this time Mamae was ‘bent with age & compelled to walk with a staff’. [67] Nonetheless, when Harris was planning his furlough in 1883 he explained to the LMS directors his selection of the elderly Mamae to supervise the Oneroa church: ‘Altho Sadaraka is infirm it would not be wise on my part to slight him by putting another in his place. Besides he still has more power over the church than any other native & is of all Teachers the most trustworthy’. [68] Harris also planned support for his coadjutor in the person of his talented son, Aiteina, whom Harris intended as his father’s eventual successor. Like him, Aiteina had ‘mental & preaching qualifications’ far in advance of anyone else in his generation. [69] Not surprisingly, Aiteina also inherited much of his father’s cultural knowledge which in later years he would share with the Māori anthropologist, Te Rangihīroa.

Community Leader and Representative

Mamae’s role in the church meant that he was looked to by the wider community as a leader and

community spokesman. In 1846 he wrote a letter to the LMS directors in London on behalf of the Oneroa *ʻekalesia*. In it he vividly describes the effects of a powerful hurricane upon the island and at the conclusion requests the directors' assistance with providing any goods to aid with the rebuilding. That he was chosen for this task confirms that he held a leadership role as deacon at the time. His peers may also have valued his penmanship. Mamae's handwriting is precise and well formed: Harris and Wyatt Gill complimented it as careful and beautiful. [70] The following passages describe the impact of the hurricane.

> Tērā taua rāvenga nei i te marama rā ko Mareti. Kua ʻakatupu te Atua i tētaʻi matangi maʻatamaʻata ʻua atu. Kāre ake rāi i kite ana i tō mātou ʻenua mei muatangāna mai rāi. Teia te tū o taua matangi nei, ʻe mea ririnui. I te ʻākirāta, kua noʻo te Atua ki runga i te matangi, ē kua rave viviki atūra i tāna ʻangaʻanga; ē, kia avatea, kua mutu. Kāre e mārikonga i te tangata, ē te au mea katoa tā te tangata i rave. Kua ʻope tākiri te au ʻare o te tangata i te ʻinga ki raro. Kāre ʻua ʻe ʻare toe, māri rā ʻo tētaʻi pāpāki o te ʻare o te ʻoromedua. Kua ʻinga rava tētaʻi pāpāki o te au ʻare o te tangata, ē tētaʻi pāpāki ʻoki, [--], kua meitaki. Kāreka te maʻata kua ʻope rava i te ʻinga, ē te au rākau mamaʻata, ē te au rākau mea riki, ē te au rākau kai. Kua ʻope rava ia i te ʻuriʻia ki raro. Kāre ʻua e mārikonga i te tangata i taua rā ra. Kua pipiri ʻaere ʻua i roto i te mato ē ki raro ake i te patu. Kua piri tākiri tō mātou ʻenua i taua ʻuriʻia nei. Kāre ʻua ʻe ngāʻi toe, ʻe ʻokotaʻi iti ake. ʻOkotaʻi rāi tū i ngā ʻōire, tei Oneroa nei, tei Ivirua, ē tei Tamarua. ... Auē auē! Kua ʻākara mātou i tō mātou ʻare toka, koia ʻoki Pūnanga ē Balacan, kāre ʻua. Kua ʻungaʻungā tītī rava i raro mei te ʻungaʻunga o te tai rā. Kia tae i te Sapati, kua putuputu mātou i te kāinga o te ʻoromedua, i te ngāʻi ātea ʻua e ʻakamori i te Atua. Ē teianei, kua ʻakatū mātou i tētaʻi ʻare ʻou. ʻE ʻare rākau ʻua, kāre i ʻare toka, ē, kua oti, kua ō mātou ki roto. [71]
>
> That occurrence was in the month of March. God produced a very great wind indeed. We had truly never known such in our land from the old days. That wind was of a very powerful kind. At dawn, God sat upon the wind, and his work was done quickly; and, by late in the morning it had ended. People, and all the things people had made, were in a state of chaos. People's houses were completely thrown down. Simply no house remained, save for one part of the missionary's house. A portion of people's houses had certainly fallen, but another portion was fine. But many were completely overthrown, as also were the large trees, the little trees, and the food trees. These were completely downed by the hurricane. People were simply in chaos that day. [People] crammed into the rocks and underneath the stone walls. [72] Our land was drawn tightly together by that hurricane. Simply no places remained, only small things. It was just the same in the villages, here at Oneroa, at Ivirua and at Tamarua. ... Alas! Alas! We saw that our stone house, namely, Pūnanga or Balacan (Barbican), was no more. [73] It had been entirely dashed to tiny pieces like the sands of the sea. When Sunday arrived, we gathered together at the residence of the missionary, worshipping God in the open area. And now, we have erected another new house. It is simply a wooden building, not a stone structure, and completed, has fitted us inside.

One of the vulnerabilities of the new Christian villages such as Oneroa was their location on the

coastlines, intended by the missionaries to facilitate sea communications by ship. In the pre-Christian era, Mangaians were located inland, near their planting lands, with the wall-like *makatea*, an ancient upraised coral reef, standing between them and any destructive winds and storm surges. In this letter the *makatea* is described as 'te mato' (the rocks): from the ground its cliff faces can measure between about 20 to 45 metres in height while in places the *makatea* is as wide as 2 kilometres. [74] This dominant landscape feature is riddled with caves and it is in these that the people would have sheltered from the hurricane, as indeed do their descendants today.

The *'are toka* (stone house) called Pūnanga (Barbican) refers to Oneroa's new chapel which was being built atop the *makatea* under George Gill's supervision. He designed it to resemble the Congregationalist Barbican Chapel in London after which it was named. The Mangaians gave its equivalent name, Pūnanga (fortress, tower, stronghold): a barbican is a projecting watchtower over the gate of a fortification. [75] At the time this hurricane struck the structure had been completed and it was only awaiting the fitting out with windows and furnishings. The building measured 27.43 metres (90 feet) in length, 18.6 metres (61 feet) in width and 7.3 metres (24 feet) in height. The wall thickness was 0.9 metres (3 feet) at its base and rose to 0.6 metres (2 feet). This was a new and ambitious kind of church design using local coral rock in place of the previous wattle and lime construction of earlier chapels. The *'ekalesia* were understandably proud of their hard work: it had been the community, including its children, who had had to carry all the building materials to the site and to erect the structure and fit it out. [76] As Mamae explains, the *'ekalesia* replaced this fallen wonder with a temporary wooden structure, able to be erected more quickly and presumably built in a more traditional style. Later on, they would replace this with another stone church, this time built on level ground below the *makatea* and facing out towards the sea.

George Gill was a witness to the terror of this hurricane and he also wrote a vivid description for the LMS directors. He explains that the island had already suffered damage from a hurricane earlier in February when the much stronger one hit early in the morning of 17 March. He describes the effects of the wind and storm surges on coastal Oneroa:

> The stones from the beach were carried by the wind like hail and fell upon us and broke our windows & the whole house itself was rocking. ... there was no rain, all was wind bringing the foam and spray from the seas like a heavy shower. Every now & then there would be a fearful rush of water on the beach levelling the houses and the fences and scattering them like sand.
>
> At a later stage, the wind changed and took the form of a whirlwind which struck the village, so that within moments the tallest trees were toppled along with 50 or more houses. The sea then surged inland again. At the same time Oneroa was hit by an even stronger wind gust so that 'the very land

> seemed to shake'. With that, seven large houses, the school houses and the old chapel all collapsed. These structures would have been on the flat lands behind the beach and immediately below the *makatea*. The new chapel still stood, although the roof thatch was damaged, but then there was another severe wind gust: 'I saw the new building rock, & then it was lifted up and then I saw it fall. Alas! Alas! My heart was just broken'. Buildings were levelled throughout the island. That night people took shelter in the rocks and caves. More seriously, the people's plantations were devastated. [77] Over the succeeding nine months the island was affected by a scarcity of food until people were able to replant. [78]

Following his appointment as a pastor, Mamae participated in the writing of further letters to the LMS. In 1864 he and his two colleagues, Katuke the *'orometua* at Ivirua and Teariki at Tamarua, writing on behalf of the Mangaian church, contributed to wider missionary correspondence requesting a new mission ship for the Pacific following the wrecking of the previous one. The three *'orometua* wrote to say the church on Mangaia had made a special collection towards funding a new vessel, amounting to $400.00 (£80.0.0) based on individual contributions of various trade goods, particularly arrowroot and coconut oil, as well as chickens and cash. They argued that such a ship was particularly needed in order that young men from Mangaia and elsewhere could be recruited to preach the gospel to those Pacific peoples still living in 'heathen darkness'. [79]

The collection of various commodities from individual Mangaians (another common item being fishing nets) was a common LMS practice undertaken annually as a membership subscription. Contributions of cash came from Mangaians who had sold commodities directly to visiting traders. The LMS contributions would then be shipped (often on the mission vessel) to agents in Tahiti, Sydney or elsewhere for sale, with the income received being used to defray the costs of the mission. This process was also used for specific purchases, typically items such as bibles. [80]

In 1865, the LMS directors requested Wyatt Gill move to Rarotonga, which for various reasons he declined. [81] Ultimately, the LMS opted to appoint James Chalmers to Rarotonga instead, leaving Gill in Mangaia. [82] The news that Gill might be reassigned, thereby leaving the island without any European missionaries, prompted the leaders and people of Mangaia to write collectively in protest to the LMS. The letter is personally signed by the *ariki*, Nūmangātini; his six *kavana* (district chiefs); the three *'orometua* (including Mamae); and the deacons on behalf of all the members of the three churches, amounting in total to 29 signatories. The letter itself was written once again by Mamae, demonstrating his important role in communicating Mangaia's views to the outside world. In a postscript to his translation, Gill stressed that this letter was the leaders' 'own suggestion' and he admitted to having 'some scruples' about forwarding it on, perhaps concerned at how the directors might respond. [83] There is no

indication of what they thought, although given that the LMS changed their minds, it suggests their hearing the voice of the Mangaian people on the matter may well have been beneficial.

> Ka tāpū mātou i tā mātou ‘oromedua, koia ‘oki a Gilirua nei. I tāpū ana ‘oki mātou ia Gili, riro atūra aia i Rarotonga, ē ‘oki atu nā aia i Beritane nā. Ē teia mai nei ‘oki tē tiki ia Gilirua e ‘apai ‘oki aia ki Rarotonga? Auē! E tō mātou aronga medua ē! Kāre āinei kōtou i ‘akataka ia rāua ‘ei ‘oromedua nei mātou? Ē tē riro nei ‘oki ‘ei ‘oromedua nā tō Rarotonga.
>
> Tērā tō mātou ‘inangaro, kia no‘o tāmou rāi tā mātou i rotopū ia mātou e tae ‘ua atu i te tuātau e ‘oki atu ei aia. Kia ‘oki atu rāi nō rotopū atu ia mātou nei. E tika [a]i, kia pa‘u mai tēta‘i ‘oromedua ‘ōu, kia pērā rāi aia. Ko tō mātou ia anoano tika [a]i. ‘Auraka kōtou e pekapeka mai i tā mātou tuatua. ‘Auraka kōtou e manako mai ē, kua ‘irinaki mātou i te tangata! Ko tō tātou pū rāi ko Iesu tō tātou ‘irinaki ‘anga tika [a]i, ē nāna ‘oki i ‘akataka i tōna au tāvini, ‘ei ‘akakite mai ia mātou i tāna tuatua ora, ē ‘ei ‘āngai mai ia mātou nei i te ū, koia rāi ‘oki tāna ‘evangelia tapu nei. Riro atūra ‘oki rātou ‘ei medua nō mātou i tā te vaerua ‘anga‘anga rā.
>
> Ē kua mātau ‘oki mātou i te no‘o kāpipiti ‘anga aia i rotopū ia mātou nei, mei te medua e no‘o i rotopū i tāna au tamariki rā. Ē teianei ē te au medua ē, ko tā mātou ia pati ia kōtou na ē. Ka mau rāi mātou i tā mātou ‘oromedua, koia a Gilirua nei. Nō te mea ko tā matou ‘ua nei ngā ‘oromedua i ‘akapērā ia, ko Gili na, ē ko Gilirua nei ‘oki. I manako ei mātou ē, kia ‘oki atu rāi tā mātou mei rotopū ia mātou nei e tika [a]i. Mē tika i te Atua tē ʻoki atu i tē ‘oki atu i te tuātau e tau ei rā. [84]
>
> We will retain our missionary, that is to say, Wyatt Gill. We should also have held [George] Gill back from being taken to Rarotonga, and then returning to Britain. And now, are you fetching Wyatt Gill to take him also to Rarotonga? Alas! O our parents! Did you not appoint them both to be our missionaries? But [they] are being taken as missionaries for Rarotonga.
>
> This is our wish, that [Wyatt Gill] remains amongst us until the time comes that he returns [to England]. [He] will surely return amongst us here. It’s the right thing to replace any new missionary like that. This is our true wish. Do not be vexed with what we write to you. Do not think that we rely on people! We truly rely on our undoubted master, Jesus, and also his servants that he appoints to make known to us his living word, and to feed us with milk, that is, his Holy Gospel. They become as parents for us in the work of the spirit.
>
> We are also accustomed to him living close together amongst us, like the father who dwells amongst his children. And now, o parents, this is our request of you. We will hold on to our missionary, that is, Wyatt Gill (Kirirua). Because for us these missionaries, [George] Gill and Wyatt Gill, are also like that. We think it is right that [they] should return amongst us. When God permits [they] return, return [them] at the appropriate time.

The polite tension is evident here between Rarotonga, the LMS centre for the Hervey Group, and Mangaia as an independent island with its own leaders and church. For Mangaia, to have both its European missionaries taken away and relocated to Rarotonga, clearly suggested a diminishment of Mangaia’s position; in traditional terms perhaps, a lessening of its *mana* as a unique society and culture.

Nonetheless, the leaders are careful to stress that they do not rely upon the missionaries, but rather on the message they teach as ministers of Jesus Christ. Indigenous metaphors are deployed: the nourishment the people receive from Christ's message (in the form of milk), and the parental-like spiritual guidance and instruction of the missionaries. In these images there are echoes of the *tamariki ʻāngai* relationship: the offspring who are given to other family members who care for them as their feeding parents (*metua ʻāngai*). Like Mamae's life with Koroa, such carers are expected to instruct the children they are responsible for. The missionaries are not standing in a dominative relationship as parents over their children (as Europeans might have conceived it) but, rather, as the letter makes clear, they all live closely together within the warm embrace of the extended family, just like the typical Mangaian family. By living and working amongst the people, these Papaʻā missionaries have been accepted and become a part of the Mangaian community. Hence the motivation behind this letter: to make straight the proper and fitting relationship of Mangaia with its Papaʻā missionaries which the LMS, by their proposed actions, put at risk. As the letter respectfully addresses the LMS directors themselves as parents to the people of Mangaia, there is an expectation that they will listen to what the letter writers are saying. This familial imagery is common in other Mangaian letters to the LMS, reflecting the ancient Christian idea of the church as a family of believers who care for one another as brothers and sisters in Christ. [85]

Mamae's leadership role in the Oneroa church meant that he assumed a prominent role in secular activities when required. On 7 August 1858 a cutter (a smaller decked sailing vessel with one mast) was driven ashore at Oneroa. At this time Mamae was in charge of the mission station while Wyatt Gill was away in Rarotonga. Mamae urged the *ariki*, Nūmangātini, and 'leading men' in Oneroa, to 'exert their authority' to prevent the boat being wrecked. They organized the men and women, equipped with long ropes, to drag the boat over the reef, out of reach of the breakers. Mamae then 'invited' willing adults at that time attending a church school class to help repair the damaged cutter. This took them three weeks of hard work. All of it was done, as Wyatt Gill stresses, without charge as the cutter's owner was poor. [86]

In 1879 Mamae became involved in a far more serious situation, the succession crisis following Nūmangātini's death on 22 November 1878. This resulted in serious disturbances involving the six *kavana* who, along with the *ariki*, formed the principal ruling group, the *aronga mana*. [87] Originally, Nūmangātini was to be succeeded by his son, Tāvita (or Davida), a survivor of a Peruvian slave ship who returned to Mangaia in 1865. [88] He was the offspring of Nūmangātini's marriage to a Mangaian woman, Araʻeva. Tāvita is understood to have died in 1877, leaving behind three young sons: his eldest child, Teariki Noʻoroa (or Tāvita-iti), was born in July 1872. On his death bed, Nūmangātini informed his family and the *kavana* that his successor was to be his adult son, Metuakore Tione (John) Trego, born in 1856 to Nūmangātini's fifth wife, Tuteʻenuki of Rarotonga. [89] A couple of the *kavana* were unenthusiastic, doubtless

preferring an *ariki* whose antecedents were Mangaian, as No‘oroa’s were. Harris considered there was widespread ‘prejudice’ against unions with non-Mangaians.

At Nūmangātini’s funeral, one of the *kavana* stood and nominated two *ariki* (No‘oroa and Tione Trego) in place of just Trego which prompted ‘many dissentient voices’. Then in January 1879 the Tamarua people, led by their *kavana*, Ngariu, came en masse to Oneroa, with much beating of drums, and re-elected No‘oroa while dethroning Trego. Thus burst upon Mangaia what Harris calls ‘Party spirit’ with the result that the *aronga mana* eventually became split down the middle: three *kavana* supported Nūmangātini’s wishes for Trego to succeed and three advocated for No‘oroa. Harris clearly feared the consequences of this impasse and suggested to church leaders from Tamarua, including the *‘orometua*, Koreiti, that they arrange a meeting of all the *kavana* to seek an amicable solution. Such were the divisions that a couple of *kavana* only reluctantly attended at Harris’s personal request. Mamae was the only mediator acceptable to all of them, but after a long discussion he could not find any common ground; neither party was willing to make concessions.

The two sides continued ‘scheming, planning & working against each other’ which promised more public disturbances by one or other party. However, the deadlocked *kavana* met again and came up with a compromise whereby the two *ariki* would be installed conjointly at a public ceremony. Whether this was their intention at the time or not, they had devised a solution which echoed the ancient practice of dual *ariki*, the *ariki pā uta* and the *ariki pā tai*, who were formerly responsible for ritual pertaining to the *atua*. This diarchy restored peace by accommodating Trego’s dominant personality alongside No‘oroa’s more passive nature, as well as the partisan preferences of their respective supporters. [90] At the request of the *kavana*, on 29 May 1879 Harris conducted a widely attended church ceremony where he anointed the heads of both No‘oroa and Trego. ‘The arrangement is that John Trego is to rule during his life and at his death the grandson of the late King is to reign absolutely’. [91] Even so, when calling out the names of leaders in the division of the feast forming part of the formal installation of the two *ariki*, Ngariu sought to undermine the arrangements by only naming No‘oroa (thereby again delegitimising Trego), but public opinion was strongly against him and, perhaps experiencing *‘akamā* (shame), he fled to Tamarua.

In a letter to Wyatt Gill, written on 24 May, Mamae gave vent to views about contemporary Mangaia. It seems reasonable to suppose his comments reflect the frustrations he experienced while mediating the crisis. Parts of the translation may not be as accurate as desired due to conjectured word meanings.

> Tērā tēta‘i tara, ko te tū o Mangaia i teianei tuātau. Kāre koe e kite i tō te tangata tū tikāi tūtū kēkē. [92] Kāre e ‘angi [93] i tō tāua tuātau rā. Tei tō teina tēta‘i ngā‘i raka, nō ‘inangaro kikino. Kāre e ‘angi

> iāʻau i te kimi i te rāvenga e reka ai te tangata. ʻUa mātau koe i te pā ʻinangaro o Mangaia. Kāre rā ē, e kino tāna. E kino rā i tā tētaʻi ʻakarongo ʻanga. I tūkē teia aronga Gavana. Kāre e mou i te tara ʻo taʻi. I ko ʻokiʻokia ʻua ia te tara. [94] Tērā ngā tangata raka i teia tuātau: ʻo Puakeri, ʻo Anui, ʻo Miringatangi, ʻo taua tamaiti iti ʻua rā [95] te ō i te rēviri ʻanga o te aronga nunui. Inārā, [96] e ʻakarongo ʻua mai koe. Me ʻau, kua ʻau; me kino, ʻua kino; ka ʻau paʻa. Kāre ʻoki i taka. [97]
>
> This is a story about the state of Mangaia at this time now. You will not know of the people; a truly different sort. It is not as easy [98] as in our time. Your younger brother is in a troubled place due to bad desires. [99] It will not be so easy for you to look for a way that the people are pleased by. You are familiar with the range of desires of Mangaia. But no, it is wicked. The obedience of some is bad. This *kavana* group is different. No-one keeps the word. The word just keeps going backwards. That's the troublesome [100] people of today: Puakeri, Anui, Miringatangi; that small child has become involved in the gathering of the large group. Nevertheless, you should pay heed. If peaceful, it was peaceful; if bad, it was bad; perhaps it was peaceful. It was not certain.

For Mamae, Mangaia's current crop of leaders were not as trustworthy or reliable as those of Gill's time on the island, a decade or so ago, when leaders like Nūmangātini dominated the island. Mamae's repeated reference to being peaceful or bad suggests he was very concerned about the consequences for the island's social cohesion. The reference to the 'small child' may allude to Noʻoroa who in May was still only six years old. The mention of Puakeri, Anui and Miringatangi suggests they were key players in the succession crisis. Puakeri, or Puakeri Karomatangi, was aged about 67 in 1879, and was *rangatira* (sub-district chief) of Maro, a *tapere* (sub-district) in Tavaʻenga *puna*.[101] Little is known concerning Anui although a man of that name registered the birth of a son in June 1868, suggesting he was an older man at the time of the crisis. [102] Miringatangi, or Miringatangi Teakaraanga, a former student at the LMS training institution in Rarotonga, was an *akavānui* (judge) of Veitātei *puna* who Te Rangihīroa depicts as a key supporter of Trego for *ariki*. [103] Miringatangi retained his *akavānui* position during the British Protectorate period (1888–1901). [104] At a 1912 land court case he is described as 'a very old man of high standing'. [105]

Tribal Historian and Man of the Land

Mamae was a respected tribal historian who freely shared his knowledge with Wyatt Gill. Mamae wrote down the 'greater portion' of the traditions that formed the basis for Gill's two major studies of the island's myths and history (*Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* and *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*). [106] These works established Gill's reputation as a missionary-ethnographer, and brought Mangaia to the attention of scholars internationally. Fifty-six of the 70 songs in that collection of traditions were recorded by Mamae, many composed by Koroa. Some of them have extensive commentaries by Mamae on

the meanings of the various historical allusions found within particular song texts. In addition, of the 19 stories or lists found in this collection he wrote eight of them concerning mythological figures (such as the culture hero, Ngaru), stories of particular ancestors, the lunar calendar and the months of the year. [107] Mamae is also responsible for creating the list of the ruling *mangaia* title holders, including key historical details on the challengers, their respective descent groups, the location of battles and presiding priestly mediums. The most important single manuscript he contributed on this topic, 'Te Ara Mangaia' (The Path of *Mangaia* titleholders), is a condensed eight-page political history over some three hundred years of this leadership succession. [108] Mamae also wrote down the largest tribal genealogy that is known from Mangaia. It lists all the members of his own descent group, Ngāti Mautara. This manuscript commences with the foundational ancestor, Papaaunuku and his direct line, but the vast bulk of it records all those who descend from Mautara's six male children with issue, namely, Te Uanuku, Raumea, 'Īkoke, Karaea, Takurua, and Ngārā, including all the spouses who married into the group, as well as important female lines such as the descendants from the sisters of Mautara's father, 'Ākunukunu. In all, there are some 2,394 persons named in this family book of *'akapapa'anga* (genealogies). [109]

In the following letter Mamae responds to receiving a second book from Gill. This is *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*, a study of Mangaian tribal histories first published in 1880 by the New Zealand Government Printer. The first book that Mamae later alludes to in this extract was Gill's study of Mangaia's spiritual world, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, published in London by Henry S. King in 1876. Evidently, Gill had been sending copies of his publications back to Mamae as one of his chief collaborators. *Historical Sketches* was published with the support of the New Zealand officials, Sir James Hector and Sir George Grey. [110] Hector was in charge of various New Zealand government scientific bodies and gave ministers advice on a wide range of problems requiring someone with his academic training in science and medicine. [111] Grey, a former governor of the colony, was the New Zealand Premier (1877–9) and was well known for his advocacy of a greater British presence in the Pacific, as well as for his wide-ranging intellectual interests, including the collection of publications and manuscripts concerning Māori and other Polynesian peoples. [112] It seems reasonable to suppose that as premier, Grey consulted Hector concerning Gill's book manuscript, and then instructed the Government Printer to publish it. Grey's key role explains why, towards the end of his life, Gill instructed that many of his most important Mangaian papers should be deposited in the Grey collection at the Auckland Public Library where they remain today. [113] In my translation, I have used Gill's own interpretations of the song lines Mamae refers to in his letter.

> Kua reka kē 'oki tei te puka rua nei. Māri rā 'e mea leta taki ta'i 'ua tei 'ē. Kāreka o te tara, 'ua tīroaroa ia. Tērā 'ua tei kore i tū reka, 'e 'eva nā Teinaaki, nō kore i tū te tūtakitaki. E kākaro koe i te kapi 'ē 50 rā, ē kia tae i te kapi 'ē 51 rā. E kākaro koe i raro ake i te ara i nākō'ia rā ē. 'Ērā 'a pīa te ka'u o

> Tūtavake, ‘ei tāeva i te rangi tao. Ka eva Ngāriki i te Moreikau, ka riro ‘oki te tā‘ēkō, ka tā ‘oki i te ivi roa ō!’ ‘E ara ‘aka‘ui tei raro ake. Tērā te poi atu. E kākaro koe i te kapi ‘ē 64 rā. ‘Vā‘ia Rongo pu‘a [114] ‘akaneke atu Ngāuta ia Paia ‘ua tae Rongo vāvā‘ia’, e tae ‘ua atu i raro rava rā. ‘Ei reira e poi mai ai taua tūranga i te kapi ‘ē 51 rā, ‘No‘o akēra Panoko [etc]’, ‘o te tūranga ‘aka‘ui ia. Ō tira ‘ua rā pa‘a ā‘au tūranga i tātā i te ‘eva a Tukā i te kapi ‘ē 52 rā? Kāre ‘oki au i kākaro maiē [115] rava i tei te puka mua rā. Tei roto rāi i te rima o Haresi i teianei. Kāre i tā‘oki mai. [116]
>
> [I] am delighted that the second book is here. But some letters, taken one by one, are incorrect. As for the narrative, it is long. The lament by Teinaaki lacks a satisfactory appearance as the form is not joined up. Look at page 50 and on up to page 51. Look below the line which says, ‘The deadly spears are now uncovered, and every preparation made for battle. Ngāriki has foolishly taken the initiative. The deceiver attained his purpose; the long-dominant tribe is doomed’. The last line is beneath. That is the link. You look at page 64: ‘The tribes of Ngāuta and Arepe‘e [117] are at enmity; Rongo has decreed their fall’, and go on right down. Then that location should be united with page 51: ‘The royal Panako [118] [etc]’, it’s the final position. Perhaps that is the reason you positioned in writing Tukā’s lament at page 52? I cannot indeed look at that first book. It is in the hands of Harris right now. He hasn’t returned it.

While Mamae is pleased to have a copy of Gill’s new book, he is not uncritical of what he sees in it, particularly in relation to treatment of the Mangaian language material. At the outset he touches briefly on the incorrect spelling of words found amongst some of these texts. Most of his short letter picks up on the way that Gill intentionally broke up and rearranged Teinaakia’s lament in different parts of *Historical Sketches*. Such an editorial decision enabled Gill to locate pieces of the lament that referred to important incidents discussed in other chapters. He explains his intentions in English after the opening excerpt from this lament, [119] but perhaps Mamae could not read that language and therefore could not see why one song composition was broken up in this way. A lack of competency in English would explain why Mamae focuses his attention on the Mangaian language texts found in *Historical Sketches*. Nonetheless, Mamae was clearly not happy about this editorial decision, arguing that the pieces of the lament should be reunited so that the song’s lines followed on from each other in the correct order and altogether on the same pages. As Mamae seems to have realized, Tukā‘s lament followed on from part of Teinaakia’s because it too referred to incidents discussed in the chapter that these two songs concluded.

What is most striking about this letter is Mamae’s confidence in being able to speak back at Gill and critique any shortcomings in the Mangaian texts as they appeared in print. Perhaps Gill had asked him to, but more likely, Mamae felt able to voice his concerns because the two men had worked so long and closely together. As this letter reveals, their collaboration on recording Mangaia’s tradition was an equal partnership. Mamae was not just a source of information but an active participant; hence his confidence in raising any criticisms with Gill. Despite Mamae’s

desire to see Teinaakia's song spliced back together, Gill did not take the opportunity to alter the text when an expanded edition was published in 1894 after Mamae's death. [120]

In 1879 Harris described Mamae as being 'an exceedingly poor man of the land'. [121] This was probably the result of Ngāti Mautara's loss of power when he was a youth. One of the consequences of defeat was the reallocation of land by the *mangaia* to his supporters. While Mamae was a highly respected *'orometua*, he only received a moderate income from the church. For many years he was paid £5 in cloth or £10 cash per annum (by comparison Harris received an annual salary of £150). Indigenous church workers like Mamae were accustomed to receiving payment in the form of cloth which they would trade for cash. [122] Like other Mangaians therefore, Mamae was used to the life of the planter in order to sustain his family and to bring in some additional income. Before the following passage, Mamae had acknowledged a gift from Wyatt Gill. He turned to discussing the poor growing conditions as they would prevent him returning the favour.

> Kāre au i ropa poi ana i teia Mē. Kāre 'oki e pō'iri memeitaki e 'ō atu ai nā'au. 'E māmio kikino 'ua tāku. E 'ē 'ua ake i tā tēta'i rā te māmio meitaki. Mei te rā mai rāi i pati'ia [a]i te onge 'ia tuku'ia mai i runga i te 'enua e tei pati i te onge, 'ua auē rā 'oki i te mānga kore tei pati i te onge. Kāre e taea te māmio ia Mangaia i tō tāua tuātau rā. Tērā tēta'i onge i onge ai. 'Ua tiri te ropa mānga. 'Ua 'ō ake te 'enua nō te puaka. 'Ua kore 'ua te māniota tā'au i kite ana rā. 'Ua pepeke te tangata i te tanu vavai. Nō reira i kore ai ēta'i tīti'a mata e riro vave nō te kore 'e māniota. Tei tō'ou manako ē, e 'oko au i te moni e 'akakite mai koe. Mē kore e tiaki au i te tāpū e rauka [a]i te māniota. Nō reira i kore ai ēta'i tīti'a mata e riro vave nō te kore 'e māniota. Tei tō'ou manako ē, e 'oko au i te moni e 'akakite mai koe. Mē kore e tiaki au i te tāpū e rauka [a]i te māniota. [123]
>
> I have not made mashed *māmio* (*poi*) this May. There has not been a good harvest to be able to give you something. Mine are only poor quality *māmio* (*Colocasia esculenta*). It'll be entirely different later on, with good quality *māmio* one day. From the day the famine was invited to be released upon the land, by the one who invited the shortage, [people] have cried out from the lack of food which invited the famine. [124] The *māmio* in Mangaia has not reached that of our time. [125] This was another famine when [people] were hungry. The making of food was cast aside. The land was given over for the pig. You no longer saw the *māniota* (manioc, cassava, *Manihot esculenta* Crantz). The people banished the planting of *vavai* (Cotton plant, *Gossypium barbadense*). Therefore some glasses quickly disappear because of the lack of *māniota*. What's your opinion, should I purchase [spectacles] with the money you told [me about]? If not, I will wait and hold back the *māniota* [I] possess.

Famines were not uncommon on Mangaia and could be caused by droughts, hurricanes or floods impacting on the planting lands in some or all of the districts. Food shortages would persist till new plants could be harvested. In the meantime, people would resort to so-called famine foods, often wild plants growing in the landscape, although the amounts and nutritional value of such

foods could result in hunger and even deaths. In 1878 Harris reported that a drought had caused severe food shortages, leaving many with little to eat (it did not stop him continuing with church activities including planning a new building programme). [126] This food scarcity was clearly still having an impact at the time of Mamae's letter in 1879.

The most important of the plants mentioned by Mamae was the *māmio* (a local term for the ubiquitous *taro*). This is the primary food plant grown extensively throughout Mangaia in its inland valleys and around streams, principally in elaborately irrigated wetland plots known as *taro* (or wet *taro* patches), and less commonly in *paʻi*, or raised plots of earth surrounded by moats of water to maintain moisture, often called a dry *taro* patch. Perhaps because of the recent drought Mamae thought the size of his *māmio* to be inferior to those at the time Gill resided in Mangaia. The lack of a good quality harvest dissuaded him from making any *poi* that year. This is a food preparation also found elsewhere in the Pacific. It involves a person pounding baked *māmio* pieces with a heavy stone to form a sticky mass which, once tightly wrapped in green leaves, can be stored and used for up to six months. [127]

The other plants Mamae mentions (the *māniota* and *vavai*) were introduced species, part of a cohort of secondary crops sold commercially to European buyers in exchange for cash. Such commodities would also have formed part of people's contributions to their LMS annual subscriptions. [128] However, they did have some local uses; for example, the cotton from *vavai* was employed as a cotton wool substitute into the 20th century. [129] Another plant in this commercial cohort was the *pia* (Polynesian arrowroot, *Tacca leontopetaloides*), although it had arrived with the original Polynesian settlers. [130] It would seem that Mangaians had cut back on such cash crops in favour of making land available for pig farming. Pigs themselves had only been re-introduced with the missionaries in 1830 after disappearing in the late pre-European period. [131] In addition to *māmio* Mamae was evidently growing *māniota* in order to provide the wherewithal to purchase his much needed spectacles, apparently with Gill's assistance.

Last Years and Retrospect

In his 1879 letter to Gill, Mamae reflected on growing old.

> Ē taʻu Takiaua tangi ʻē! ʻUa ngāueue ngā turuturu i taua ʻare nei. Koia ʻoki, ōku vaevae, ʻo tōku vaʻa, ē tōku ʻinangaro. Tē pakari ʻua nei ia. Inārā, ʻo taʻu kōivi kātoatoa, i rakapū, i teiaʻa, ē te ngoengoeā, e tokotoko e tae ai i te ngāʻi mamao. Tē maʻara nei iāku tei ʻakakitea i te Koheleta, pene 12, ʻīrava 1: ʻĒ tēnāna, e ʻakamanako i Tei ʻanga iākoe i tōʻou ʻanga rā, kāre i tae i te au rā kino rā, ē kāre i tae i te au mataʻiti, e karanga [a]i koe rā ē, kāre rava ōku e mataora ʻanga'. E tika rāi, ē taʻu Takiaua, e tika rāi, e tika. Ē tē tatari nei au i tōku karere i te tiki iāku, e taʻu Taki. [132]

> Oh my friend, greetings! The supports for that house shook. That is to say, my legs, my mouth and my wants. These are simply growing old. Even so is all my body: completely afflicted, oppressed, downhearted, propped up till I reach the distant place. It came to my mind what is revealed in Ecclesiastes, chapter 12, verse 1: 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them'. [133] It is so very true, o my Friend, so very true, so true. I am waiting for my messenger to fetch me, o my Friend.

In this passage Mamae talks about his experience of aging with its attendant loss of physical health, declining oratorical powers, and a lessening of feelings for life's pleasures. He awaited the messenger who would bring him out of this valley of tears and reunite him with his late wife in a better world.

Mamae died on 22 September 1889. His presence in the LMS correspondence fades away after about 1884, when the missionary W.N. Lawrence, temporarily domiciled at Oneroa, and with limited skills in *te tara Mangaia*, left the preaching 'to the native teacher who is a fine old man quite a father among the people'; almost certainly a glimpse of Mamae still at work serving the church and people. [134] Any retrospective of his worth by Harris in 1890 (when he wrote three letter to the LMS directors) was lost when these and other letters were destroyed during the German bombing of London in May 1941. [135] Wyatt Gill, who knew Mamae for some 37 years, described him as 'no ordinary man'. As befitted a churchman he was 'well versed in Scripture, which he expounded with great originality and power, bringing his illustrations not from books or commentaries, but from Nature, and from events familiar to those whom he [was] addressing'. These included the rich body of stories and songs he had learned as a child at the knee of Koroa. 'He had', added Gill, 'much wit and humour, as well as true pathos'. [136] These were the attributes Gill valued in Mamae's preaching: true pathos perhaps referring to the ability to evoke deep emotions in the congregation. Such skills suggest too the rhetorical arts of the Polynesian orator. The knowledge world of Koroa's generation imbricates his *mokopuna*'s Christian world view.

When Gill sorted his Mangaian papers a few years before his death in 1896 he paused to write a last vignette of Mamae, concluding with an estimation of his chief qualities:

> Mamae was one of the cleverest men I ever met with. For upwards of 40 years he was a faithful preacher of the Gospel. He died not long since at an advanced age; – spotless in character, true as steel in friendship. I dearly loved him. [137]

Mamae also deserves recognition as a tribal historian whose knowledge, thanks to Gill's publications, continues to be found in academic writings not only about Mangaia but also wider Polynesia. He belongs to the generation who learned to move within a world first colonized by

the LMS and subsequently by European governments, including New Zealand's, keen to paint the world in the colours of empire. Like other Polynesian scholars and leaders of his generation Mamae made sure to load his ancestral knowledge into the new vessels venturing towards the challenges of the future.

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Footnotes

[1] William Wyatt Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* (London: Henry S. King, 1876), xx.
[2] William Wyatt Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1894; repr. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1984), 367; Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1876), 114; Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae, Sydney 20 May 1891', in Gill, 'Native Songs, etc used in Myths & Songs from the South Pacific & Historical Sketches of Savage Life', Auckland City Libraries, Special Collections (hereinafter ACL/SC), Grey New Zealand Manuscripts (hereinafter GNZ MS), 45.
[3] Note: in the three versions I have seen of Mamae's book of genealogies, Mamaerua is identified as another name for Koroa-iti's younger brother, Kakina. However, comparison of handwriting sample texts by Sadaraka and Mamaerua seem a very close match, suggesting these are by the same person. The content of at least some of the letters also confirms this, e.g., Mamaerua-signed letters refer to purchasing spectacles (Mamae had bad eyesight); critique one of Gill's publications that Mamae was the key contributor to; and refer to the letter writer's deceased wife as both Mrs Mamaerua and Mrs Mamae. In Te Rangihīroa's version of the genealogies he separately lists the marriages and offspring of the two brothers: both have wives called Aravao and their children appear to have the same or similar names. In the other versions, the marriage is given for Mamaerua (to Aravao), and with offspring that include Aiteina

(Mamae's son). Neither lists the family of Mamae himself although this is his genealogy book. On balance, I've opted to identify Mamaerua as Mamae.
The three versions of Sadaraka's genealogical book: 1., 'Photocopy of MS of Akaiti's genealogy book' (this is a photocopy of the handwritten original), Donald S. Marshall, Cook Islands Research Papers, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands Campus, Rarotonga, Box 9.5 (copy courtesy of Rod Dixon); 2., 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe: Compiled from the Book of Koroa-iti, Sadaraka or Mamae, Father of Aiteina', Dec. 1929–Jan. 1930, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, MS Case 5 Co 2 (typescript by Te Rangihīroa); 3., 'Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga', Mangaia Islands Manuscript, MacMillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, MS 171 (typescript).
[4] Ngāti Mautara is also known by its earlier tribal names, Te 'Āmama and Ngāti Vara.
[5] William Wyatt Gill, 'Notes to Tau'apepe's Lament for Ata', in Gill, 'Original Manuscripts of Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia', ACL/SC, GNZ MS 44. This lament appears in Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 301–4, but not the notes. Hamzah in Tau'apepe follows 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe' which Te Rangihīroa checked in the field with Tau'apepe's grandson, Aiteina.
[6] 'Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga', 21–2.
[7]This line is found in Te Rangi Hiroa (P.H. Buck), *Mangaian Society*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 122 (Honolulu, 1934; repr. New York: Kraus, 1971), 27; 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', see genealogies entitled 'Ngati Vara tribe', 'Ikoke 1'. While Te Rangi Hiroa is the form found on title pages, Te Rangihīroa is the correct form of the name, and it's this version I've used in my own text.
[8] 'Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga', 22. There was a first-born son, also named Koroaiti, who died.
[9] 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', genealogy 'Ikoke 1'.
[10] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 318 n.1.
[11] Michael Reilly, *War and Succession in Mangaia*, Memoir No. 52 (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 2003), 76–8.
[12] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 367; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 72, 192; Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.
[13] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873, Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive, School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London (hereinafter CWM/LMS, SOAS), South Seas Letters (hereinafter SSL), Box 34, Folder 2, Jacket A, Australian Joint Copying Project (hereinafter AJCP), Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719784717/view (accessed Aug. 2021). Some SSL references in this paper are from AJCP microfilms, but due to Covid-19 restrictions during 2021 in New Zealand, which prevented access to library collections, others like this letter come from the digital version found on Trove. Only the latter items will include the https URL. All SSL were addressed to the Foreign Secretary, LMS.

[14] Gill, *Myths and Songs*, 36–9; Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 313, 368; Michael Reilly, *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia*, Memoir No. 54 (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 2009), 43.
[15] Kazumichi Katayama and Norio Shibata, eds, *Prehistoric Cook Islands: People, Life and Language*, Part 2: Norio Shibata, *Mangaian-English Dictionary* (Rarotonga: Cook Islands Library and Museum Society, 1999), 35 (hereinafter Shibata, *Mangaian-English Dictionary*); Mataora Harry, personal communication, Oct. 2001.
[16] Reilly, *War and Succession*, 78–83.
[17] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 82; Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 102–3.
[18] Gill, 'Notes to Tau'apepe's Lament for Ata'.
[19] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 159.
[20] Ibid., 157–9; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 179 (Honolulu, 1934; repr. New York: Kraus, 1971), 300–5.
[21] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 21 Oct. 1867, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 2, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken Collections, Dunedin, NZ, Hocken microfilms 131, reel 45 (hereinafter Hocken micro 131, [reel no.]); Letter from Harris, 13 June 1873, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719783938/view (accessed 6 Oct. 2021). Thanks to Rod Dixon for his comments on Mamae's age.
[22] Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 157.
[23] Gill, *Life*, 149.
[24] See Reilly, *War and Succession*, 82.
[25] See Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 92–108, for an extended analysis of these two visits.
[26] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873. Here and elsewhere I have corrected the 19th-century practice which abbreviated the postposed verbal particle *ai* (as in *tika'i*) by reinserting *a* in brackets (*tika [a]i*).
[27] Reilly, *War and Succession*, 85–6. These quotations reflect Mangaian language usages rather than the Rarotongan forms favoured in mission texts; hence 'tara' instead of 'tuatua' for example.
[28] Ibid., 85; Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 279.
[29] Reilly, *War and Succession*, 82.
[30] Ibid., 85–7.
[31] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 337; Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, 'Maretu's Life, Work and Context', in Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, trans., annot. and ed. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific; Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, 1983), 4.
[32] Miringatangi, 'Witness testimony in Mission House Oneroa title', 25 July 1904, Cook Islands Land Court Records (hereinafter CILC), Minute Book, Aitutaki vol. 2 1903–7, p. 127, Auckland University Library, Special Collections (hereinafter AUL/SC), Manuscripts and Archives, A-155, microfilm 1865.
[33] Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 273–7; Reilly, *War and Succession*, 88.

[34] Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, especially 101–3, 109–28.
[35] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873. For Shadrach, see *Good News Bible: Today's English Version* (London: The Bible Societies, 1976), Daniel 3: 19–26; *Te Bibilia Tapu Ra* (Suva: Bible Society, 1972), Daniela III: 19–26.
[36] Mamae does not identify his wife by name in either letter but does in his genealogical writings. See e.g., 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', genealogy 'Ikoke 1'; Te Rangi Hiroa, *Mangaian Society*, 27.
[37] Mamae writes this as 'koau'.
[38] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879, in William Wyatt Gill, 'Rarotonga Notes, Songs, Stars, Stories, Letters', Polynesian Society Records, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington (hereinafter PS/ATL), MS-Papers-1187-059, MS-Copy-Micro-0755-10.
[39] This phrase might be translated as 'to the point' since *tara* also refers to something pointed like a horn, spur etc.
[40] This interpretation of the song passage is a very tentative translation.
[41] Letter from Mamaerua, 18 Māti (March) 1881, PS/ATL, MS-Papers-1187-059, MS-Copy-Micro-0755-10. Note that the letter writer, Mamaerua, refers to his late wife as Mamae *va'ine* (Mrs Mamae), suggesting again that Mamae and Mamaerua are one and the same person. Death date for Mary Layman Gill: William Wyatt Gill, 'Voyage through the Outstations of the Hervey Group', June–July 1883, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.
[42] 'Genealogical Tables of Te 'Amama or Ngati-Vara tribe', genealogy 'Ikoke 1'.
[43] Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 280; Letter from John Williams, Tahiti, 27 Mar. 1839, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 12, Folder 1, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 29.
[44] Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts*, 130 n. 47.
[45] Letter from Sadaraka, 26 May 1873.
[46] Letter from George Gill, 26 Mar. 1849, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 37.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Michael Reilly, 'Transforming Mangaia's Spiritual World: Letters from the Early Christian Community of Oneroa', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116, no. 1 (March 2007): 43. This training institution is now called Takamoa Theological College.
[49] See the monument commemorating Cook Islands missionaries erected in the grounds of Takamoa Theological College at Avarua, Rarotonga. Islands listed include Sāmoa, New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands and Papua (New Guinea). Also see Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity* (Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies; Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2005), 67–8.
[50] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 10 Aug. 1869, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 32, Folder 1, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 46.

[51] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 6 Jan.1854, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 25, folder 6, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 39.
[52] Letter from George Gill, 30 Apr. 1852, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, folder 9, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 38.
[53] Resolutions of a meeting held at Mangaia, 9 Feb. 1857, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 1, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41.
[54] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 1 July 1857, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 1, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41, underlining in the original letter.
[55] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 22 Dec. 1859, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41.
[56] Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.
[57] E.g., Letter from Harris, 20 Nov. 1879, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 5, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 51.
[58] Letter from Harris, 30 June 1874, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 5, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719826702/view (accessed Aug. 2021).
[59] Letter from Harris, 23 Oct. 1883, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.
[60] Letter from Harris, 1 June 1883, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.
[61] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 21 Oct. 1867, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 2, Jacket D, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 45.
[62] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 2 Jan. 1868, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 5, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 45.
[63] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 10 Aug. 1869.
[64] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879.
[65] E.g., Letter from Harris, 30 June 1874; Letter from Harris, 6 July 1882, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 37, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 52.
[66] Letter from Harris, 1 June 1883.
[67] Letter from Harris, 6 July 1882.
[68] Letter from Harris, 23 Oct. 1883.
[69] Letter from Harris, 6 July 1882.
[70] Letter from Harris, 13 June 1873, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719783938/view (accessed Aug. 2021); Gill, 'Biographical Note on Mamae'.
[71] Letter from Sadaraka, 4 Mē (May) 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.
[72] The phrase 'the rocks' is a translation of 'te mato', a reference to the cliff face of the *makatea* where people gather in caves for protection during hurricanes. George Gill translates this passage: 'The men of our land entered the rocks and the holes of the caves to dwell there in

fear and sadness'. See his translation following Sadaraka's letter: CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.
[73] In his translation George Gill gives the correct version of this name as Barbican.
[74] Patrick Vinton Kirch, 'The Mangaia Socio-Ecosystem: Environmental and Ethnohistoric Perspectives', in *Tangatatau Rockshelter: The Evolution of an Eastern Polynesian Soci-Ecosystem*, ed. Patrick Vinton Kirch (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2017), 9–12. I converted some imperial measurements to metrics.
[75] Letter from George Gill, 7 Feb. 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34; meanings of barbican and *pūnanga*: *The Chambers Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers Harrap Publishers, 1998), 128; Jasper Buse with Raututi Taringa, *Cook Islands Maori Dictionary*, ed. Bruce Biggs and Rangi Moeka'a (Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, 1995), 371; Shibata, *Mangaian-English Dictionary*, 232; Stephen Savage, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga* (Wellington: Department of Island Territories, 1962; repr., Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific; Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, 1980), 279. For *pūnanga* as a 'tower': *Te Bibilia Tapu*, Genese XI: 4; *Good News Bible*, Genesis 11: 4. The London chapel's name was likely derived from a nearby barbican as it stood in the precincts of the city's old Roman fortress: City of London, 'Barbican Estate History', https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/barbican-estate/barbican-estate-history (accessed 6 Oct. 2021); Niel Gunson, personal communication, 27 Sept. 2021.
[76] Reilly, 'Transforming Mangaia's Spiritual World', 44–9; Letter from George Gill, 1 May 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Letter from George Gill, 30 Nov. 1846, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket E, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 34.
[79] Translation of letter from Sadaraka, Katuke and Teariki, 29 Dec. 1864, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 44. There is no original Mangaian language letter on file. The denominations of money used are Chilean dollars, the currency used for financial transactions in the Pacific at this time, and the English pound.
[80] The business concerning contributions to the mission can be found throughout many missionary letters in which it was a key reporting item: e.g., Letter from George Gill, 30 Apr. 1852; Letter from George Gill, 19 Oct. 1852, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 24, Folder 9, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 38; Letter from Wyatt Gill, 1 Feb. 1862, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL Box 29, folder 2, Jacket A, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 43.
[81] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 27 Apr. 1865, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2718364349/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note this location for Hervey Group letters does not square with the catalogue for this box which locates this letter at Folder 3, Jacket C.
[82] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 25 May 1867, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 31, Folder 2, Jacket C, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 45.

[83] Gill, Translation of letter written by the King, Governors, Deacons and Churches of Mangaia, 3 June 1865, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2718356426/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note the box catalogue locates this letter at Folder 3, Jacket C.
[84] Letter from the *Ariki*, *Gavana*, *Diakono* (Deacons) and the *'Ekalesia*, written by Sadaraka, 3 Iūnu (June) 1865, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL Box 30, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2718356031/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note the box catalogue locates this letter at Folder 3, Jacket C.
[85] See Reilly, 'Transforming Mangaia's Spiritual World', 42.
[86] Letter from Wyatt Gill, 30 Oct. 1858, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 3, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 41. Account published in Gill, *Life*, 351–2.
[87] Unless otherwise indicated, the following outline of the crisis comes from George Harris's letter, 5 June 1879, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 5, Jacket B, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 51; supplemented by Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Mangaia and the Mission*, ed. with intro. by Rod Dixon and Teaea Parima (Suva: IPS, USP in association with B.P. Bishop Museum, 1993), 9, 45.
[88] On Mangaia's experience of Peruvian slavers, see Reilly, 'Mangaia in the Colonial World, 1863–1899', *Pacific Studies* 31, no. 1 (March 2008), 4–6.
[89] Birth and death dates provided by Rod Dixon, based on data in Register of Births, LMS, Oneroa, Mangaia. Tāvita's other sons were Tangituakana born August 1874 and Tamapi born November 1876. Tione (John) Trego may have been named after George and Sarah Gill's son by that name. Trego was Sarah's family name. Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 53 n. 5. Note that in his 5 June 1879 letter Harris states that Davida died shortly after Wyatt Gill's departure (1872), and that Trego was 26 years old in 1879 (making him born in 1853). I have accepted Dixon's information based as it is on the birth register. Harris may have misremembered the exact dates.
[90] The renewal of dual *ariki* was suggested by the editors in Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 53 n. 6. Rod Dixon suggested to me that the *ariki pā uta* and *ariki pā tai* interpretation was a much later ex post facto solution. This section has benefitted from Rod's help.
[91] As it happened, No'oroa died before Trego, in 1922. Trego then was sole *ariki* till his death in 1929 at which point the dual *ariki* was re-established. Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 53 n. 6.
[92] Mamae writes 'tu tu keke'.
[93] Mamae writes 'āngi': he seems to use macrons to indicate a preceding glottal stop, thus *'angi*.
[94] Mamae writes 'ko okiokia' as if two words. The meaning of 'ko' here is not clear to me. Thus my translation is an approximate one.
[95] Mamae writes this phrase over two lines: 'o taua tamaiti/ iti ua ra …'. I've interpreted the passage to refer to a small child; its very young age underscored by the reduplication of 'iti'

(small).
[96] Mamae writes this ‘I na ra’.
[97] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879.
[98] ‘Easy’ is my conjecture for *‘angi* based on some suggestive meanings in cognate languages, see Herbert W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed. (Wellington: Government Printer, 1971), 11: *angi*, free, without hindrance; move freely, float; J. Frank Stimson with the collaboration of Donald Stanley Marshall, *A Dictionary of some Tuamotuan Dialects of the Polynesian Languages* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1964), 42, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-6343-1: *ahi*, move, rise freely, be unhindered, float -freely, -lightly (with connotation of upwind motion); free, unencumbered, unhindered, light.
[99] Here Mamae is referring to himself figuratively as Gill’s younger brother, demonstrating the warm and affectionate nature of their relationship since this marked the ideal for such a dyad. ‘Troubled’ is my conjecture for *raka*, but another might be ‘fearful’, see Stimson, *Dictionary of some Tuamotuan Dialects*, 427, which glosses *raka* as fearsome, inspiring -awe, -dread etc.
100 ‘Troublesome’ is my conjecture for *raka*, but another might be ‘dreadful’. Ibid., where *raka* is glossed as inspiring -awe, -dread, -horror.
[101] Information on Puakeri supplied by Rod Dixon. As a 16 year old in 1828 Puakeri was taken from Mangaia on board a Spanish whaler, ultimately travelling to Europe and living in Spain, before returning in 1857. William S. Bond, ‘Strange Story of 100 year ago’, *Pacific Islands Monthly* XII, no. 9 (17 Apr. 1942), 19–20, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-314932595/view?sectionId=nla.obj-329096643&searchTerm=puakeri+mangaia&partId=nla.obj-314935883#page/n20/mode/1up (accessed 7 Oct. 2021).
[102]Register of Births, LMS, Oneroa, Mangaia (copy made by Niel Gunson, in author’s possession).
[103] Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, 45, with additional information provided by Rod Dixon.
[104] Reilly, ‘Mangaia in the Colonial World’, 25 n. 27.
[105] Miringatangi, ‘Witness testimony in investigation of Te Vaooteravakai and Poutukava titles’, 20 Aug. 1912, CILC, Minute Book, Aitutaki vol. 4 1912, p. 288, AUL/SC, Manuscripts and Archives, A-155, microfilm 1865.
[106] Gill, ‘Biographical Note on Mamae’.
[107] Based on a survey of the traditions located in ACL/SC, GNZ MS 45.
[108] These manuscripts are published with commentary and analysis in Reilly, *War and Succession*.
[109] Based on an analysis of ‘Genealogy Book of Akaiti Ponga’ and ‘Photocopy of MS of Akaiti’s genealogy book’.
[110] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 5.
[111] R.K. Dell, ‘Hector, James’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published 1990, in *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h15/hector-

james (accessed 10 Sept. 2021).
[112] Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published 1990, in *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george (accessed 10 Sept. 2021).
[113] Letter from E. Wyatt-Gill, 24 Oct. 1899, ACL/SC, GNZ MS 44.
[114] Mamae writes this word 'puā'. As he often uses a macron to indicate a glottal stop, I've assumed this was his intention here, although what the word actually means is not clear to me. I could not find a meaning that fits with Gill's translation in any current Cook Islands dictionaries.
[115] This might also be read as *māʻie* (*mārie*).
[116] Letter from Mamaerua, ca. 1881, PS/ATL, MS-Papers-1187-059, MS-Copy-Micro-0755-10.
[117] Here Gill has replaced Paia, used in the Mangaian text, with Arepeʻe, another name for this chief who belonged to the descent group, Tepei (also called Teipe in the historical sources), see Reilly, *Ancestral Voices*, 179, 190–1. Gill may have chosen to use Arepeʻe in the translation because it was the name by which this leader was more commonly known. It is certainly the name Gill uses in his own narratives about that man.
[118] While Gill always writes this Ngāriki leader's name as Panako, Mangaian language manuscript sources (and Mamae) write it as Panoko: the latter is the form found in Mamae's letter (in contrast with Gill who renders it as Panako in his printed version of this song). Mangaians today (including Shibata, *Mangaian-English Dictionary*, 194) accept Panako as the correct spelling. Perhaps the dominance of Gill's written texts has caused this change?
[119] William Wyatt Gill, *Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1880), 51–2.
[120] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 80, 87, 97–8.
[121] Letter from Harris, 5 June 1879.
[122] Letter from Harris, 4 May 1876, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 1, Jacket C, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719893548/view (accessed 6 Oct. 2021). Harris's salary: Minutes of a Meeting held at Rarotonga, 25 May 1874, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 34, Folder 5, Jacket A, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719826186/view (accessed 6 Oct. 2021). Denominations in English pounds. In 1870 values: £10 50 days wages for a skilled tradesman; £150 750 days wages; converted to 2017 currency: £10 £629.09, £150 £9,391.35. Currency conversions: National Archives [UK], 'Currency Converter: 1270–2017', https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result (accessed 7 Oct. 2021).
[123] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879.
[124] The translation of this sentence is a bit tentative. To me the passage evokes the idea that some agent or being, perhaps the devil, had invited a famine to come upon the land and cause a shortage of *māmio*.
[125] I take it that Mamae is suggesting that as a consequence of the famine, Mangaia's *māmio* stock has not yet got back to the kind of production levels or quality known during Gill's time

on the island.
[126] Letter from Harris, 6 May 1878, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 35, Folder 4, Jacket B, AJCP, Trove, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2719970086/view (accessed Sept. 2021). Note that items from Folder 4, Jacket B are in reversed order (including the pages of this letter) as are folders and jackets which appear thus: Folder 4, Jacket A, Folder 5 Jacket A, then back to Folder 4 but jackets in reverse order: E, D, C, B.
[127] For more detailed descriptions of *poi* preparation: Shibata, *Mangaian-English Dictionary*, 220; W. Arthur Whistler, *Plants of the Canoe People: An Ethnobotanical Voyage through Polynesia* (Lawai, Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i: National Tropical Botanical Garden, 2009), 80.
[128] ‘*Manihot esculenta* Crantz’, *Plants of the World Online, Kew Science*, http://powo.science.kew.org/taxon/urn:lsid:ipni.org:names:351790-1 (accessed 22 Mar. 2021); ‘*Gossypium barbadense*’, *Plants of the World Online, Kew Science*, http://powo.science.kew.org/taxon/urn:lsid:ipni.org:names:559677-1 (accessed 22 Mar. 2021); W. Arthur Whistler, *Flowers of the Pacific Island Seashore* (Honolulu: Isle Botanica, 1992), 59. Whistler notes an Indigenous Polynesian cotton plant (*Gossypium Hirsutum* var. *taitense*) in the Society Islands, the Tuamotu Islands and the Marquesas Islands, suggesting that it may also have existed in Mangaia.
[129] Shibata, *Mangaian-English Dictionary*, 385.
[130] Whistler, *Plants of the Canoe People*, 203.
[131] Kirch, ‘Vertebrate Fauna from Tangatatau Rockshelter: Mammals, Birds, and Reptiles’, in *Tangatatau Rockshelter*, 93 n. 70.
[132] Letter from Mamaerua, 24 Mē (May) 1879. This passage precedes the one quoted earlier in this paper about Mamae’s late wife. I have conjectured meanings for some Mangaian words not found in contemporary Cook Islands dictionaries: ‘kōivi’ can mean body, bones, corpse in 19th-century Mangaian texts and various cognate East Polynesian languages. See e.g., Gill, *Myths and Songs*, 242; ‘rakapū’, ‘completely afflicted’, has been assumed to be a combination of *raka* and the adverb *pū*, see relevant usages of *raka* in ibid., 5 (trouble); Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 188 [*la‘a* ‘in great trouble or get in/into trouble’]; ‘Takiaua’, and its shortened form, ‘Taki’, are Mangaian terms for friend according to my friend, the late Teariki No‘oroa.
[133] Translation from the Authorized Version.
[134] Letter from W.N. Lawrence, 26 Dec. 1884, CWM/LMS, SOAS, SSL, Box 38, Folder 1, Jacket E, AJCP, Hocken micro 131, 53.
[135] See note in *London Missionary Society Archives Inventory*, copy at Hocken Collections. The first three SSL folders were destroyed. Harris’s 1890 letters: 24 June (SSL, Box 41, Folder 2, Jacket A), 23 Sept., 27 Oct. (Jacket B). Harris’s last letter for 1889 was written in July. Nor did he allude to Mamae in any 1891 letters. I did not survey SSL beyond that year.
[136] Gill, *Darkness to Light*, 367–8.
[137] Gill, ‘Biographical Note on Mamae’.

The Reverend John Williams on Board Ship with Native Implements, in the South Sea Islands. Lithograph by J. H. Lynch after Henry Anelay's original painting. (photo; National Library of New Zealand). In front of Williams feet lies one of the 13 Mangaian gods from the national god-house in Keia.

Appendix 4
Mangaian God Figures

Appendix Three

A BRIEF CATALOGUE OF MANGAIAN STAFF GODS IN WORLD MUSEUMS

Rod Dixon

According to Mangaian tradition there were 13 representations of the Mangaian gods in the island's national godhouse, Te-Kai'ara. Buck writes that, with the exception of Rongo,[1] they were all carved in wood.

The ta'unga responsible for carving eleven of these god figures was Rori.[2] The twelfth god, Rori's own god, Teipe, was carved by his friend Tapaivi.[3] The period of their creation was the late 17th century.[4]

The twelve wooden images or representations in the godhouse were of the gods Motoro, Tane-papa-kai, Tane-ngaki-au, Tane-i-te-utu, Tane-kio, Te-aio, Te-kuraaki, Utakea, Turanga, Teipe, Kereteki, and Tangiia.

The images carved by Rori were of ironwood and consisted of rude representations of the human form. The image of Motoro was decorated with the red feathers that Rori's grandfather had brought from Tahiti. Rori also obtained some hair from his aunt Mangaia to adorn the head of the image. . . . The images were wrapped with the special white bark cloth, as thick as cardboard, termed tikoru mataiapo (cloth of the first-born), which was manufactured by the priests of Turanga. . . . After the acceptance of Christianity, the gods were removed from the godhouse and the wrappings were stripped from the gods and thrown into the sea. The denuded images were handed over to Williams and Platt and were eventually deposited in the British Museum (Buck 1934:170).

CURRENT LOCATION OF THE MANGAIAN GOD FIGURES

This note locates six of the twelve wooden god images in world museum collections and briefly records a possible seventh, in the British Museum collection, and an eighth, displayed at the Evangelical Missionary Museum at the Exposition Universelle in Paris 1867, but whose current location is unknown.

Figures 1 – 4. British Museum, London.
Buck (1944:37) located three images (Figs.1-3), identified in the British Museum catalogue as "district gods of Mangaia, names now lost," that he believed to have been carved by Rori and on which the "sennit and feather ornamentation of the shafts still remains" (1944:372). These are -

Figure 1. District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.62 (also known as LMS number 32)
This district god of Mangaia is made of wood, sennit, feathers, and rope (sennit,

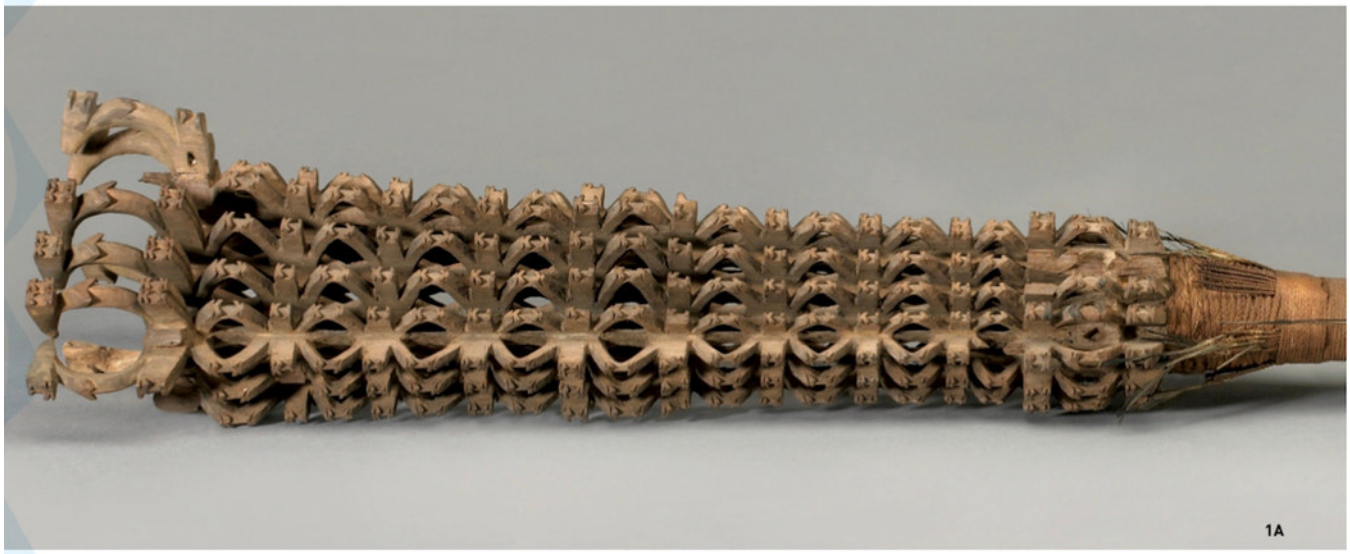
[1] *Rongo was carved in stone at the marae O Rongo and represented by a triton shell in the national godhouse (Gill 1894:331-332).*

[2] *Rori was the son of Rongoariki and grandson of Una from Tahiti. Una and Rongoariki were expert in carving and sennit lashing and passed these skills to Rori. Rori was forced into exile in the Mangaian raei or karrenfeld after the battle of Māueue but returned many years later under the protection of Manaune who wished him to carve his god Tiaio for the national godhouse (see Gill 1894:214-239).*

[3] *"Curiously enough, Rori the Hermit would on no account carve his own idol. He therefore asked his friend Tapaivi to carve it" (Gill 1894:333).*

[4] *"According to genealogies, Rori lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century" (Buck 1944:472).*

1



1A

human hair). The museum card index states, "The head is carved in open work, with three rows of lozenge shaped openings, alternating with rows of pierced ridges on all four sides." Buck notes the haft is wound in "close transverse turns around the upper end of the shaft and the beautiful multiple lozenge pattern termed *inaere* for the rest . . ." (1944:375).

Figure 2. District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.42 (also known as LMS 42; LMS 31; LMS 100; LMS 234),
"At different levels, feathers, human hair, and coir holders from which the feathers have fallen out were introduced in rows and fixed by the transverse turns of sennit which pass over and conceal their lower ends" (Buck 1944:375).

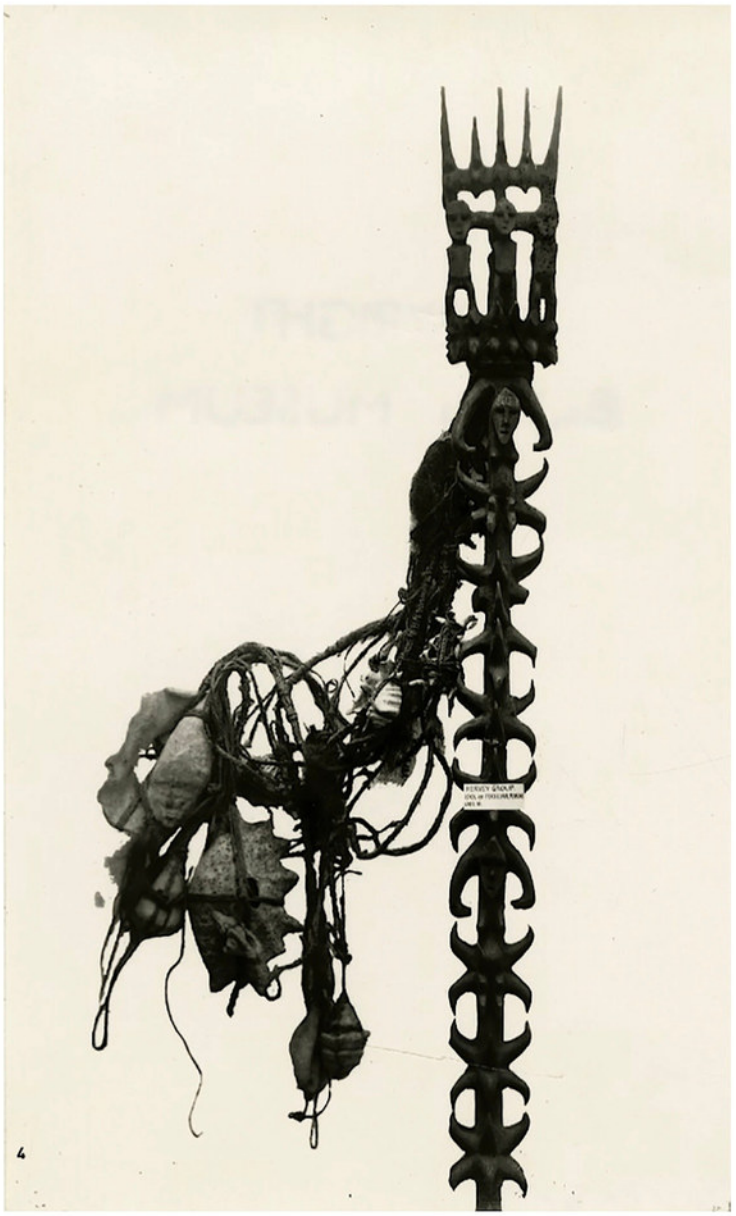
Figure 3. District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.43 (also known as LMS 43; LMS 30, LMS 98).

FIGURE 1
District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.62 (also known as LMS number 32) Length 138.5 cms (54.5ins) (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 1A
Detail, District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.62 (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

2

3



4

FIGURE 2
District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.42 (also known as LMS 42; LMS 31; LMS 100; LMS 234). Open-work, carved wood, human hair, coir. Length 90cms (35.4ins) (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 3
District god of Mangaia. Oc,LMS.43 (also known as LMS 43; LMS 30, LMS 98). Wood, human hair, coir. Length 85.7 cm (33.7 in) (photo: © Trustees of the British Museum).

FIGURE 4
Spiked God. Deity image made of wood, sinnet rope, marine shells, human hair. Mangaia. LMS.41. Height 16 cm, width 9.7 cm, full length 288.6 mm (114 in) (photo Oc,B65.19: © Trustees of the British Museum).

PLANCHE V.

IDOLE faite avec des épines recourbées, des coquillages et des cheveux tressés, de Mangaïa (Océanie.) — 2. C. 5A

Figure 4. Spiked God. Deity image made of wood, sinnet rope, marine shells, human hair. Mangaia. LMS.41.

Buck is unsure whether to attribute the staff god in Figure 4 to Mangaia, noting "Somehow, I mistook the locality for Mangaia, and I hoped that because of the human figures, human hair, and red feather decoration that it might be Motoro. However, the technique is so different from that used by Rori on the three district gods that its locality remains doubtful" (1944:368).

Buck's tentative attribution of Figure 4 to Mangaia is strengthened by an 1867 catalogue entry describing a similar item — (Figure 5 above) in the Evangelical Missionary Museum exhibition at the Paris Universal Exhibition, in 1867 — as originating from Mangaia.

FIGURE 5
Albumen print of a spiked God attributed to Mangaia – current location unknown (photo: *Musée des Missions évangéliques, Exposition Universelle, Paris 1867).*

FIGURE 5A
Catalogue entry, Musée des Missions évangéliques, Exposition Universelle, Paris: Grassart 1867.

7

FIGURES 6 AND 6A (DETAIL)
District god of Mangaia. Oldman 432. O 50.106. Length 109 cm [43 in.] Otago Museum (photo: Otago Museum/ Bridgeman Images).

FIGURE 7
Staff god donated by the Boston Marine Society in 1869 to the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Length 113 cm [44 in] (photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 69-20-70/1354; digital file number 99210003).

FIGURE 7A
Detail, Mangaian staff god in the Peabody Museum, with evidence of small sennit ties (photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 69-20-70/1354; digital file number 99210004).

Figure 5. Location unknown.
An albumen print (photographer unknown) of a Mangaian 'idol' appeared as Plate V in the catalogue of the Musée des Missions évangéliques, at the Exposition Universelle, Paris 1867. The original catalogue entry (Figure 5a above) notes "Idol made with curved spikes, shells, and hair braids, Mangaia, Oceania." The figure had been donated to the museum by the London Missionary Society. Its current location is unknown.

Figure 6. Otago Museum, Dunedin.
Another Mangaian carved staff god is found in the Oldman Collection, Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand. Oldman describes the figure as follows –

One of the great tribal deities of Mangaia. Brown hard wood, head finely carved and pierced; design consists of eight ribs, three on each face and one on each side, carved with conventional figures of deities; the spaces between ribs are pierced with lozenge-shaped holes; below the ribs is a band of carved and pierced deities; handle round in section, end is turret-shaped and carved with fourteen conventionalized deities, some broken. Very old. Length, 43ins. [109 cms]; head, 17ins.[43 cms] width, 7ins. [18cms] by 4ins. [10cms] thick (Oldman 1938:3).

Figure 7. Peabody Museum, Harvard University.
Another Mangaian staff god is found in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Boston, USA. Reference 70/1354. Donated by the Boston Marine Society in 1869. L: 113 cm [44 ins].

Buck records of the Peabody staff god, "many of the arches are broken off and the shaft is bare of decoration" (1944:372). For Figures 6 and 7, both the tapa and the ka'a (sennit) lashing on the hafts was either never present or, more probably, removed. As noted by Gill, with the conversion to Christianity – "The wrappings were thrown away, and for the first time since they were carved by Rori they were exposed to the vulgar gaze" (1894:334). Some sennit, possibly originally used to hold feathers in place (Buck 1944:375), is found on the ridges of the head of the figure as seen in Figure 7a.

Figure 8. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
An eighth staff god associated with Mangaia – and the least known in the literature – was purchased by the Masco Corporation Foundation and donated to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). According to Nancy Thomas, Deputy Director, LACMA, (Art Administration and Collections), this staff god was "collected [on Mangaia] by the London Missionary Society in 1823" (EAC e-news 2009:2).

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FIGURE 8 (FRONT) & 8A (REVERSE)
Sculpture, c.1800. Wood, fibre, human hair, and feathers. Mangaia. Overall: $46^{1/2} \times 5^{1/8} \times 3^{3/8}$ in. Length Feather max 4 in. (10.16 cm). Length Feather min $2^{1/4}$ in. (5.72 cm) (photo M.2009.126.1 © Los Angeles County Museum of Art, www.lacma.org).

Appendix 5
Mangaian Church Membership by Village
1830 - 1906

Church members by village – Adults (male and female) 1830 - 1906

indicating the number of baptized church members - not the size of congregation

Year	Oneroa	Tamarua	Ivirua	Total	Total Mangaia population	Notes
1830	136				2000	Moyle Richard, *The Samoan Journal of John Williams, 1830 and 1832*, ANU Press, Canberra, p. 25, 27
1839	60					Maretu quoted in William Gill, 1880, *Selections… Autobiography*, p. 175 Around this time Maretu notes "all the Karanga people had moved to Ivirua. Some even followed us to Oneroa." (Maretu, 1983; 121)
1840	400	50	40	490		Maretu, 1983; 128-9. According to Maretu there were 70 in Oneroa studying to become communicants, and smaller groups studying at Ivirua and Tamarua.
1842						Ivirua - The population was about 500, sixty of whom were in church communion ["at the principal station, Oneroa"], and two hundred attended the school (Gill, 1880; 118).
1843	360					In 1843, there were 2,000 people residing at Oneroa, 306 adults and 900 children in the school and 360 church members; William Gill, *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, Volumes 24-25; 1860; 29 Gill claims that in 1843 only 100 people lived away from the Christian settlements.
1845	343	93	68	504	3567	In the December 1845 census by Rev. George Gill, Oneroa is comprised of *Keia*, 424 *Karanga* - 282 *"Tevienga"* - 363 *"Vitati"* - 832 The outer villages were then - Tamarua - 1065 Ivirua – 601 While Ivirua had returned to their lands, a sizeable number of Karanga people remained in Oneroa, together with a sizeable number of Tamaruans who perhaps increased the Veitatei population count. *These figures included 447 children whose parent had died.*

						Rev. George Gill, Letter 1 January 1846, SOAS, SSL, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A
1846	312	106	71	489	3604	Rev. George Gill,1 January 1846, Box 19, Folder 4, Jacket A Oneroa - 1935 Tamarua - 1065 Ivirua - 604 (*Samoan Reporter*, I September 1847)
1847	311	120	77	508	3668	Rev. William Gill, 18 October 1847, Box 20 Folder 4 Jacket C
1848	294	142	82	518		George Gill, 17 June 1848, Box 21, Folder 3, Jacket B; also 26 March 1849, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket A; General Statistics of the Church at Mangaia, -1845-1849 George Gill, January 1850, Box 23, Folder 4, Jacket A
1849	280	135	69	484		Rev. George Gill 19 January 1850, SOAS, SSL, Box 23, Folder 4, Jacket B. Tamarua's total population was 1059 - Tamarua Church Statistics, W. W. Gill, 12 January 1853, Box 25, Folder 3, Jacket A.
1852	281	154	75	510		Tamarua Church Statistics, W. W. Gill, 12 January 1853, Box 25, Folder 3, Jacket A. All settlement statistics George Gill, 10 March 1853 Box 25, Folder 3, Jacket A
1853	279	140	71	490		"The great influx of Californian and other trading vessels of late would give us a fluctuating population of about 100 per annum." Geo. Gill, 20 April 1853 *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, November 1853 p. 684 George Gill, 31 January 1854, Box 25, Folder 6, Jacket A
1854	243	120	68	431	2926	George Gill, 19 December 1854 SOAS, SSL, Box 26, Folder 6, Jacket D. "In 1854 our numbers were much thinned by the then prevailing epidemic viz. measles." *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, Volumes 19-20; 1856; p.219 In 1856 there were 231 children in the Tamarua school.
1856	269	121	61	451	3400	*Village Congregations* – Oneroa 1500, Tamarua 800 and Ivirua 300

1857	318	138	170	636		Wyatt Gill reported, "The remarkable revival of religion at Ivirua has not yet ceased… Katuke and his wife still labour assiduously at that Station." *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, October 1858; 633 *Village populations* Oneroa – 2,000 Tamarua – 1,000 Ivirua - 400
1859	342	151	142	635	2306	William Gill, *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, Volumes 24-25; 1860; 29 Rev. W. W. Gill, 5 March 1859, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 4, Jacket C
1860	317	160	123	600		William Wyatt Gill, 22 December 1859, SOAS, SSL, Box 27, Folder 4, Jacket C
1861	306	152	133	593		*Attendance at divine worship* Oneroa - 1,050 Tamarua - 600 Ivirua church - 450 W. W. Gill, 20 March 1861, SOAS, SSL, Box 28, Folder 3, Jacket B
1865				566		William Wyatt Gill, 5 January 1865, SOAS, SSL, Box 30, Folder 3, Jacket C
1867					2237	
1871				685		Rev. W. W. Gill, 6 January 1871, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 1, 1866 – 1880
1872	357	209	179	745	2266	*Puna populations* Veitatei 425 Keia 350 Tavaenga 251 Tamarua (noo i tai) 74 Tamarua 655 Karanga 158 Ivirua 353 W.W. Gill, Notebook c.1869 – 75 W.W. Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles*, p.102, 106
1881				623	2,000	Rev. G. A. Harris, 20 August 1881, SOAS, South Seas Reports, Box 1 1866-1880; "A short review of 10 years residence…"
1884					2,200	
1895					1,821	
1900					1,541	
1906					1,531	

Appendix 6
Overseas missionary graves in the Oneroa Churchyard

Overseas missionary graves

The oldest grave with a dedicated headstone in the Oneroa churchyard belongs to Davida Numangatini who died c. 1872.[1] This grave lies in the grounds of the church completed in March 1849. It was in this graveyard that the remains of the first Christian Evangelist Davida were also interred.

Davida

Davida's daughter died of influenza on 11 February 1849. Davida and a second of his children died on 21 February 1849, also of flu. The Rev. George Gill records that – "They were buried at the same time in the same grave." [2] A large unmarked grave close to the grave of Numangatini ariki is their likely resting place.

The children of the Rev. George Gill and Mrs. Sarah Trego Gill.

Two of the Rev. and Mrs George Gill's children are also buried within the churchyard.

The children of Rev. William Wyatt Gill and Mrs. Mary Layman Gill.

Four of the children of Rev. and Mrs. Wyatt Gill's children are buried within the graveyard. Their head stones are located between the mission house and church.

Two of these children, the eldest of four, were lost within a week in 1859, in both cases of a viral infection known as 'the croup'. [3] These were John Layman Gill, b. 1854; d. 5 October, 1859, aged 4 years and 10 months and William Harrison Gill, b. 1853; d. 10 October, 1859, aged 6 years and 6 months

> The younger "John Layman" died on the 5th of October [1859], after only one week's illness! He was nearly 5 years old. For several days we had no apprehension as to the fatal character of the disease. But on the morning of the sixth day the peculiar cough distinctive of croup convinced us that we must part from our beloved child. In our distress we had no friend or medical aid whatever – such is our isolated position. To God only could we look. Nor did we look in vain. For he has enabled us to bear this heavy stroke. On the following morning the dear little sufferer breathed his spirit into the arms of Jesus.

> But the worst had not yet come. Our eldest child "William Harrison" had sickened, and although some of the worst symptoms in his brother's case were wanting, his strength failed from day to day and it became distressingly evident that the remedies employed were altogether inadequate to check the disease. October 9th dear Willie's last night on earth, the Native Teachers and Deacons assembled in our house for prayer on his behalf. The meeting was continued till near midnight, and we did hope that his life would have been spared, but it was otherwise ordered and, on the day following, his suffering terminated, and now with his little brother he is praising the Saviour of whom he loved to hear when on earth. He was 6 years and 6 months old.

The Rev. George Gill memorialized the children in a book called *Buds and Blosoms early Nipped – or the deaths of two beloved children of the Rev. W. Gill B.A of Mangaia* (London: Ward and Company).[4]

In March 1861, the Wyatt Gill's lost one of their new-born twins, a girl (unnamed, still born) – "the other, named William Harrison, remains to cheers the hearts of his parents." [5]

A fourth child, an infant boy, born on 22 June 1871, named Charles Henry Turouaiti, died on 16 July 1871, just three weeks and 4 days old.

> His little grave was dug out of the solid coral and many hundreds of kind-hearted natives came to his funeral. How cheering the assurances in regard to our departed children. Both Mr. Royle and Mr. Chalmers approved of my intention to apply to the Directors for a grant of iron railing with stone fittings to enclose the spot sacred to the memory of 4 dear children. One of the four was 6 years and 6 months, another was nearly 5 years, and the other two were infants. The railing should be 11 feet and six inches in length; and four feet only in width. There should be stone fitting as the coral is too brittle for the purpose. The grave is in our own premises close to the chapel wall. [6]

George Johnson Numangatini Harris, son of Rev. George and Mrs Mary Ann Rhodes Harris

In 1879, the Harris family lost an infant son George Johnson Numangatini Harris, born 30 July 1877, aged 18 months. [7]

Thomas Mark Cullen, son of the Rev. and Mrs James Cullen

Thomas Mark Cullen died in August 1897, aged 4 years and 3 months. "Alas! … that little graveyard has been enriched by having the body of another bright child committed to its care. Little Mark, one of Mr. Cullen's family of winning and bonny children, has fallen asleep, and is

resting in that far-away grave.” [8]

Footnotes

[1] Rev. G.A. Harris, 2 April 1873, SOAS, South Seas Reports Box 1, 1866 - 1880
[2] Rev. George Gill, 26 March 1849, Box 22, Folder 2, Jacket A
[3] *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* 1 November 1860, p.290
[4] *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, 1860, p.739
[5] Rev. W.W.Gill 20 March 1861, SOAS, SSL, Box 28, Folder 3, Jacket B
[6] Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, 6 August 1870, SOAS, SSL Box 32 Folder 4 Jacket C
[7] Thompson, 1900;168.
[8] Thompson, 1900;168.

The British missionary children's graves in the Oneroa churchyard (photo - N. Rani, 2024)

*Figure 1 - 'Okiri (spear), Mangaia, FE002347, Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zea**land***
Purchased 1907 from Mangaian delegation to the New Zealand International Exhibition, Christchurch, 1906-7

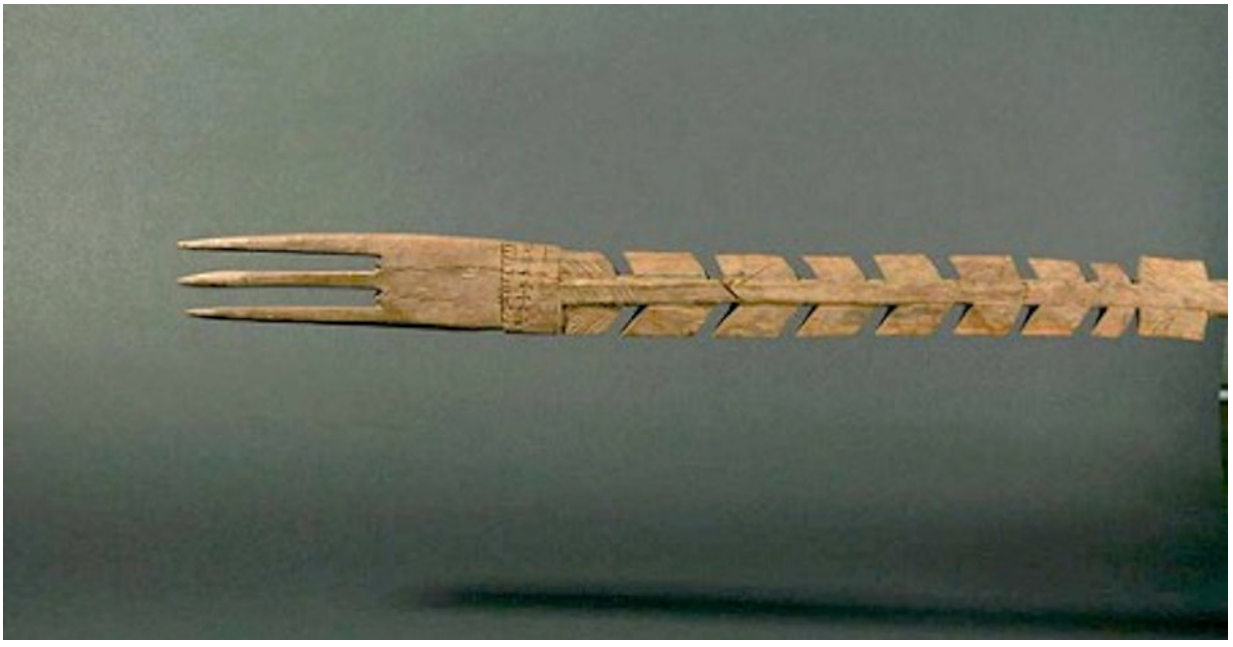

Figure 2 - Mangaian stabbing spear, FE002342, Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand
Dimensions Overall: 75mm (width), 1640mm (length)

Appendix 7

Mangaian Weapons of War

Te ui mai na Rongo è,	*Rongo demands of each*
Tai okiri, tai korare,	*À spear and a club:*
Tai okiri, tai korare	*An army longing to fight,*
Tai naau peiaa è,	*An army longing to fight.*
Tai naau peiaa è !	*Each now wields a spear.*
Tai okiri oki è,	*Lead on to the attack.*
Ka tu è ka puruki.	
E popo ta i miri;	*A wooden sword for the battle;*
E popo ta i te tangata,	*A wooden sword to slay warriors ;*
Popo taia atu na;	*A sword that has often been proved ;*
Kauariki i te toë.	*To transfix the foe. (Gill, 1894; 305)*

In 1930, the Mangaian orometua Aiteina provided Te Rangi Hiroa/Sir Peter Buck with a list of Mangaian weapons in his father's Bible. The list was entitled "Te 'ata taua na Tonga'iti" (The weapon rack of the Tonga'iti).

1. Tauokura: e taiki roroa, e ono maro, e rima maro, e 'a maro (long iron-wood weapon, six, five, or four arm spans).
2. Tarai-matakura-mea: e ara'a (an ara'a). It had two cutting edges
3. Tarai-arorangi: e 'aro (a 'aro).
4. Upoko-motu: e rapa (broad or paddle bladed); with sharpened edges but differing from an ara'a (no. 2 above).
5. Tao-rangi: e 'a manga (with four branches or points).
6. 'Iti-pa'aka: e rua manga (with two points).
7. 'Ui-pua: e potakataka, mei te kurukuru te tu (rounded, like a kurukuru). Aiteina stated that it was a short club up to 3 feet in length with a rounded head like a sling stone (kurukuru).
8. Kaika'a [1]

In the above list *ara'a* refers to what Buck calls "skull cleavers" while *aro* refers to wooden swords (Buck, 1944; 290). "In addition to these, the *popo* described as an ironwood staff (*tokotoko taiki*) was used as a club on occasion. Of the weapons enumerated, only the *kaika'a*

Figure 3 - Mangaian short club, FE002344, Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand
Dimensions: Overall: 105mm (width), 1004mm (length)

Figure 4 - Mangaian spade club, wood. Handle, circular in cross-section, widens to a flat blade, rounded at the end. End of handle is slightly ornamented. British Museum 157.50 cms x 17 cms x 4 cms

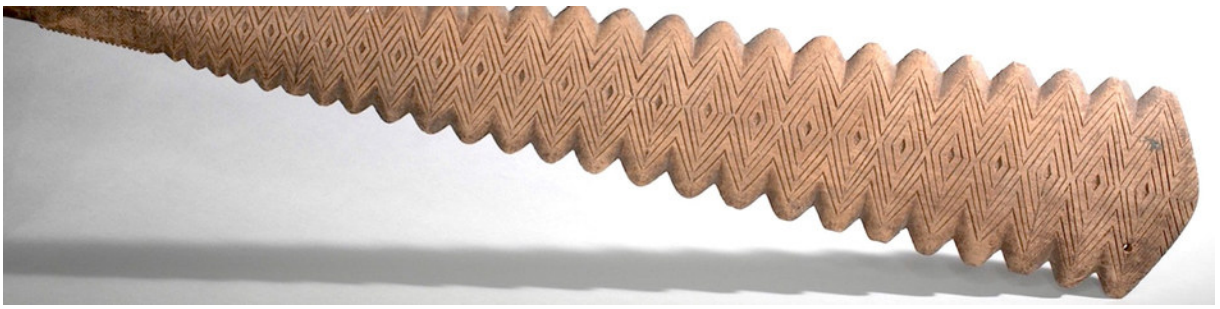

Figure 5 – Mangaian Serrated Club, E237.7, Stromness Museum, Orkney, Scotland, Length 1570mm

can be definitely identified with existing weapons. This is possible because it was figured by Gill (1876; 320) with its name" (Buck,1944; 290) - *see Figure 8.*

As noted in Chapter 4, the spear (‘okiri), club (korare), sling (maka), slingstone (toka maka), the “small war axe” [2] and the deadly kaika'a or triple serrated club were the main weapons of war on Mangaia. For protection in battle, according to one source, “Their bodies were wound round and round with tapa, as a sort of armour.” [3] Gill also suggests the warriors wore “war head-dresses and covered their persons with many folds of twisted native cloth.” [4]

‘Okiri / Spears (Figures 1, 2)

Rev. William Wyatt Gill writes that “Generally speaking, spears did not exceed twenty-four feet in length; the spear wielded by the famous warrior Ngauta was thirty feet long” (1894: 368).

The Mangaian based writer, Edwin Gold claimed to have seen the spear of the legendary warrior Kanune in the cave Piri-te-umeume in Veitatei and described it as “thirty feet long; it is about three inches thick, the point being apparently attained by charring and scraping. One has no means of knowing what the ebony-like spear was made from, but toa, a local ironwood, was used largely for weapons in Kanune's day.” [5]

In the 1950s, Dr. John Numa informed the anthropologist Don Marshall that he had read a “book by a former sailor named Anderson” who witnessed the last battle on Mangaia, and observed that the warriors fought at Poutoa “ with 30’ spears, from 3 great fighting platforms – that was in time of Numangatini - 40 warriors died then – some warriors would pierce 2 men and thrown them and spear over shoulder.” [6]

Spears and clubs had a private mark to allow each warrior to identify his own weapon when they were stored in caves during periods of peace (Gill, 1894; 173).

Korare - Clubs (Figures 3 - 6, 10)

Buck identifies six types of clubs from Mangaia: the spade club, the serrated club, the pointed paddle club, the narrow-bladed club, the triple serrated club (*kaika'a*), and the short hand-club.
The spade club (Figure 4) "is made of heavy wood, probably ironwood... Blows could be made with the blade and thrusts with the pointed butt" (Buck, 1944; 290).
The serrated club (Figures 5 and 6) - its blade has the same shape as the spade club, but the side edges are carved with convex serrations (Buck, 1944; 292).
The pointed paddle club has "an elliptical paddle-shaped blade with a long, thin point which gives the clubs a unique appearance... In the Mangaian list of clubs, the *upoko motu* was

Figure 6 - Mangaian serrated clubs made of hard brown wood with a long spatulate blade, 273156, Field Museum, Chicago, Length – 144.1 cms Width – 14.8 cms; purchased in 1956 from Hooper Collection.

described as *rapa* and as the blade of a canoe paddle is termed the *rapa* in distinction to the shaft (*kakau*), it may be that the pointed paddle clubs bore the name of *upoko motu*"
The narrow bladed club – Buck (1944; 293) describes this as “A plain edged club with a narrow blade and pointed distal end.”
The triple serrated club or *kaika'a* (Figure 8) **“**has a median row of serrations in addition to the side rows and that the distal end of the blade bends forward at right angles" (Buck, 1944; 293).
The short hand club (Figure 10) has a rounded shaft and a squared end and is carved with the typical K-motif belonging to Mangaia. “This may be a specimen of number 7 in Aiteina's list (above) referred to as a '*ui-pua”* (Buck, 1944; 293)

Maka - Sling (Figures 7, 9)
In 1906, Alexander Hamilton interviewed members of the Mangaian group visiting the Christchurch Exhibition, who informed him that maka or slings “were made of the bark of the au (yellow hibiscus) with a sort of shallow pocket in which the stone reposed. The end of one part was firmly tied to the wrist of the slinger while the end of the other part was grasped in his hand. Whirling the sling two or three times round his head, the loose end of the sling was then let go and the missile flew in the direction required. The range was about a hundred yards according to the strength of the slinger. The missiles which were about the size and shape of a small orange were made of the hardest stone in the island called reru [stalagmite], ruarangi [flint] or kara [basalt] and were very effective as weapons when a good many men were engaged in combat, being particularly used against a flying enemy [enemy in flight] who were unable to dodge the missiles.” [7] Buck adds that on Mangaia hard coral was also used to make slingstones [pōʻatu maka] in addition to basalt and stalagmites and stalactites which “burst into fragments on striking a rock and inflicted injury” (Buck, 1944; 303).

Figure 7 - Maka or sling, with stone from 1886, Rarotonga (Auckland War Memorial Museum 11712)

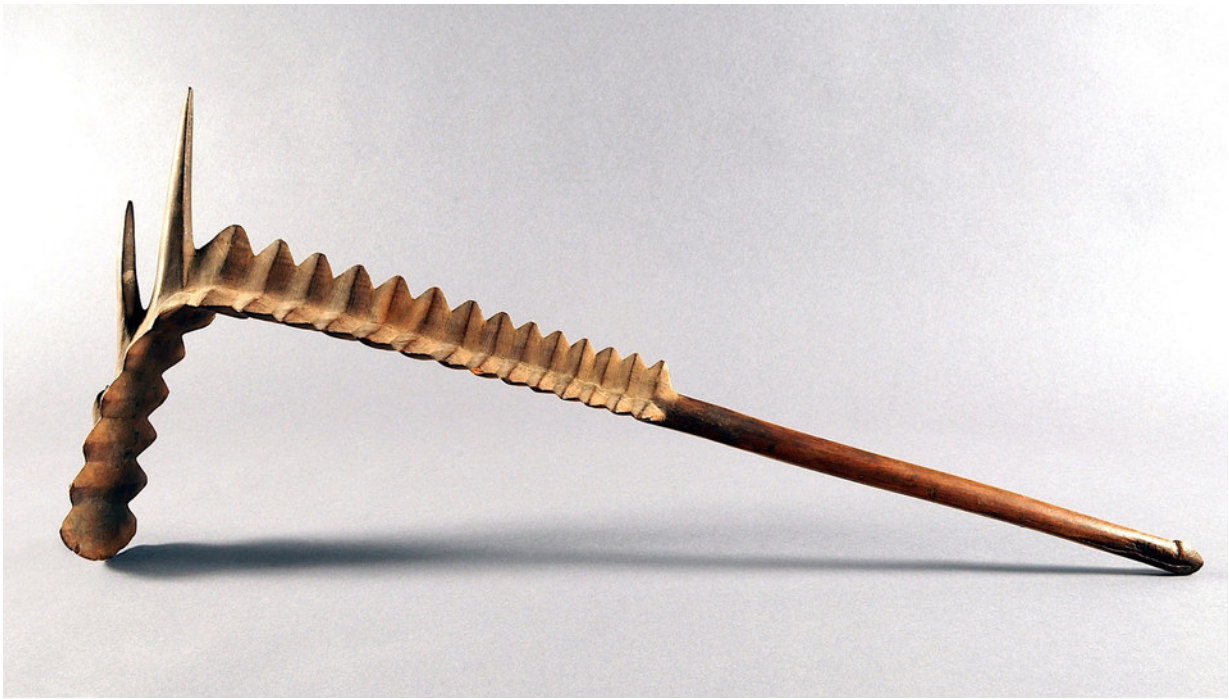

Figure 8 - Kaika'a - Triple serrated club.. The middle series of serrations ends in three long spikes projecting backward (one- the most distal is broken off), 273126, Field Museum, Chicago Length; 75.0 cms, ex. Fuller Collection

Figure 9 - Mangaian pō'atu maka, calcite slingstone, early 19th century, 11cm wide, 6.5 cm diameter, ex-Hooper Collection No 625 (Photo - Distant Times Distant Lands, Finch and Co Gallery Catalogue, London).

Buck reported that the majority of slingstones in the Cook Islands were spherical in shape rather than the spindle shaped slingstones of Hawai'i. The example from Mangaia shown in Figure 9 more closely resembles the Hawaiian spindle shape slingstone (Buck, 1944; 302).

Footnotes

[1] D. S. Marshall's Mangaian informant Kara said weapons were "called Kaika'a (because [they were] used for killing)" suggesting that all killing clubs were generically kaika'a. Marshall's Dictionary Cards record " Toki-kaika'a 1. (n.) Killing axe". *Polynesian Journals, Second Expedition, 1953 - 4,* p.432 in D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands.
[2] W. W. Gill, 1880; 23.
[3] Mrs. Wyatt Gill, "The Contrast – A True Story from Mangaia" in *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine (and Annual)*, Volume 27, (1870; 66 - 67).
[4] W. W. Gill, 1880; 138
[5] Edwin Gold, 1946, "Two unique Mangaia artifacts", in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol., 55, No. 3 ; pp. 215 - 217
[6] D. S. Marshall, *Polynesian Journals, Second Expedition, 1953 - 4,* p.102 in D. S. Marshall Archives, University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands.
[7] Alexander Hamilton, "Rough Notes on Mangaia "Peace" or Ceremonial Axes and Slings", *Dominion Museum Bulletin* No. 3, Wellington, 1911. Ruarangi or flint can be found on one of the ridges in Karanga. It was used to smooth the karā, or basalt adze heads and as a superincision knife.

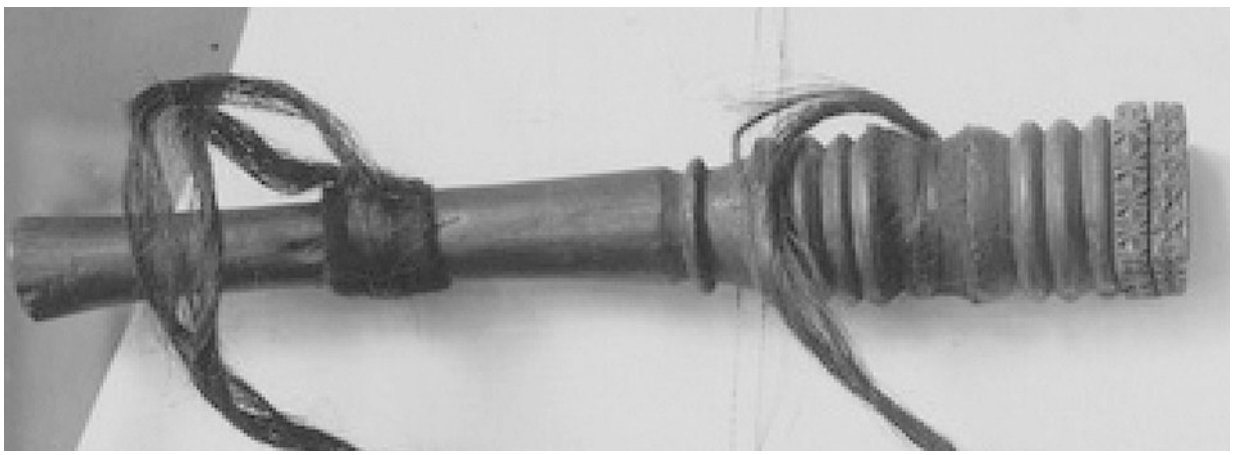

Figure 10 – Mangaian Short hand- club, square top, star – K motifs on surface of square end, Dimensions - 41.8 x 7 x 6.2 cm, 99-12-70/53512, Peabody Museum, Harvard, ex. Boston [Marine] Museum.

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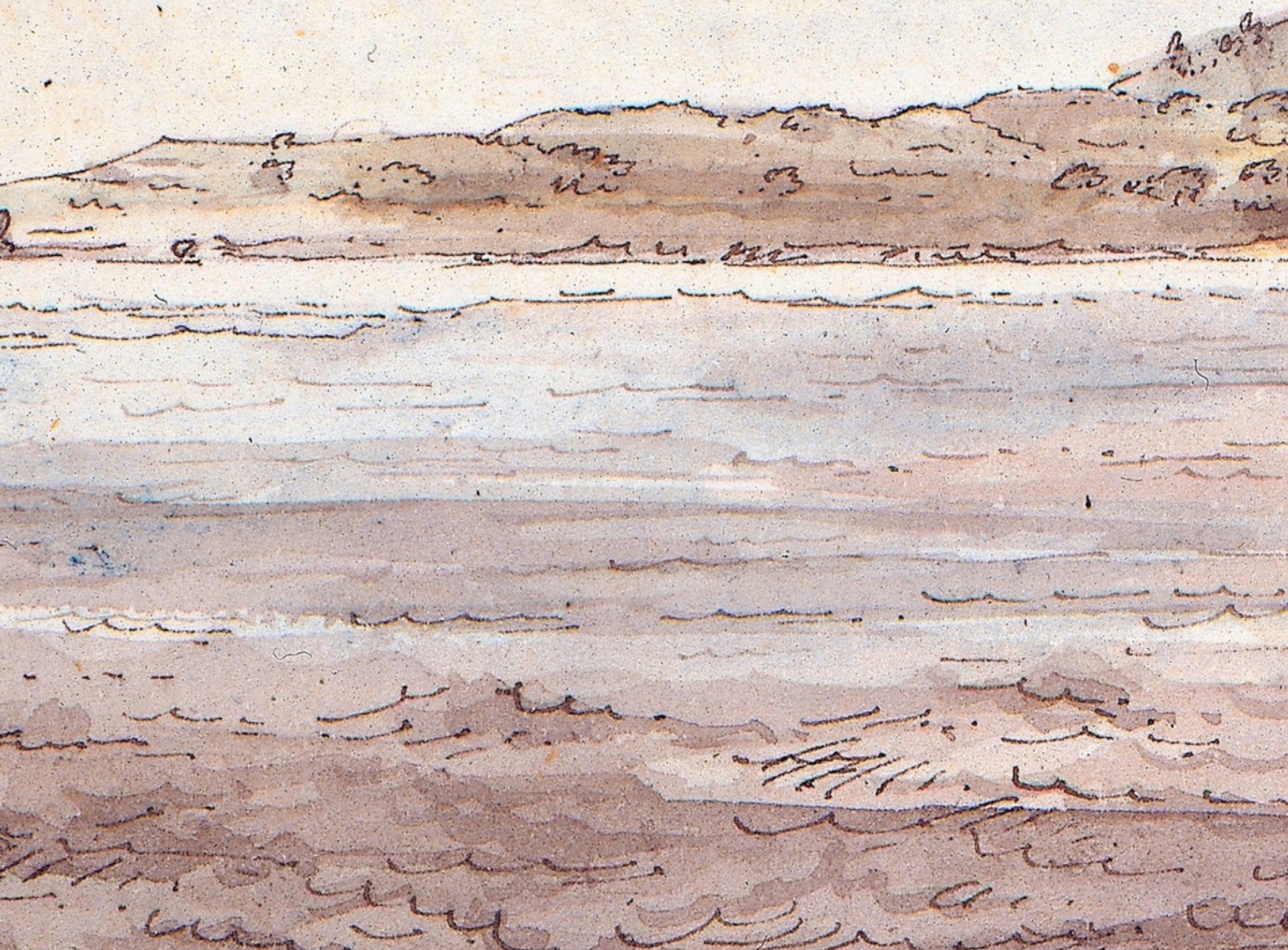
This book examines aspects of the social, political and religious transformation of Mangaia following the arrival of Christian evangelists in 1824.